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## BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA.

## BOOK I.—CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

## CHAPTER I.

## INTRODUCTION—POSITION—DISCOVERY—HISTORY.

THE peninsular-continent of Africa, one of the great divisions of the globe, and the next to Asia in point of size, extends in a triangular form between  $37^{\circ}$  N. and  $34^{\circ}$  S. lat., a distance of nearly seventy-two degrees, or about 5,000 English miles; and from  $18^{\circ}$  W. to  $51^{\circ}$  E. long., the extreme breadth being thus nearly equal to the length. It is united by the narrow isthmus of Suez to Asia, and is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, for a distance of 2,000 miles; on the north-east by the Red Sea and Gulf of Bab-el-Mandeb, for about 1,500 miles; on the east by the Indian Ocean for 4,000 miles, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean for nearly 6,000 miles, thus showing a sea coast-line of some 13,500 miles without calculating the minor bights, bays, and inlets. In breadth this extensive region is very unequal; it is greatest between Cape Guardafui, near the entrance of the Red Sea, on the east, and the British settlement of the Gambia on the west; thence contracting abruptly towards the equator, the latter coast forms the deep, wide bight called the Gulf of Guinea; and a succession of curves on either shore mark the gradually diminishing area of the land until its termination at the southern extremity (the apex of an irregular triangle) known as the Cape of Good Hope. The superficies of Africa has been variously estimated: Malte Brun makes it 13,430,000 British square miles; Ukert 11,961,675, including Madagascar and the adjacent islands; and Gräberg's calculation approaches closely that of Ukert.

Although nearly insulated, and penetrable in various directions to a considerable extent by means of the Nile, Niger, Senegal, Gambia, Congo, Quilimane, and other rivers, yet, owing to the almost insuperable obsta-

cles interposed by its mountain chains and sandy deserts; by extremes of temperature, scanty supplies of water, and, in several localities, noxious climate; so little is known of the interior, that modern map makers and hydrographers might still resort to the old plan of delineating "elephants to fill up gaps," or the less excusable expedient of introducing supposititious mountains of extraordinary height, and rivers with imaginary courses. Even the European settlements of the French on the north and north-west; of the Portuguese on the east, and of the British on the west, south, and south-east (except at the Gambia and at the Cape of Good Hope) have been chiefly confined to the coast-line.

To what extent the ancients were acquainted with the shores of Africa we have but insufficient means of judging; the borders of the Mediterranean, where Carthage, the rival of imperial Rome, stood, were doubtless well known to them; Egypt and the Abyssinian coast are renowned in Pagan, Israelitish, and Christian records; and it is conjectured that Sofala, on the western shore of the Mozambique channel, was the Ophir whence the Queen of Sheba brought presents to Solomon. On the western coast, their knowledge is not supposed to have extended farther south than Cape Blanco or Cape Verd. In a later age (from the tenth to the fourteenth century) the Arabians penetrated a considerable distance into the interior of Africa, and formed several extensive settlements, especially on the western coast, but had evidently no knowledge of the Cape of Good Hope, as Edrisi, the famous Arabian geographer, extends Africa to the eastward until it becomes conterminous with India and China. From the fifteenth century, the



honours of geographical discovery belong to Europeans. In the first rank stands the name of Prince Henry, Duke of Visco, (surnamed the Navigator,) son of John, first king of Portugal, and Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry the Fourth of England. This prince is said to have received much information at Ceuta respecting the territories to the southward of Morocco, while engaged with his warlike father in an expedition against the Moors, and his energies were directed to the circumnavigation of Africa with a view to opening a maritime route to the rich regions of the east, whose valuable commerce was then monopolized by the republics of Venice and Genoa, which was carried on by the overland route through Asia-Minor,—by the Red Sea, or the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf.

Although more than a century had elapsed since the introduction of the compass into Europe, mariners were afraid to venture far out of sight of land, and regarded the untraversed expanse of the broad Atlantic with awe; moreover an old belief still held its ground, that the earth was girdled at the equator by a torrid zone or region of intolerable heat, which separated the two hemispheres, and a superstitious opinion existed that whoever passed the surge-bound shores of Cape Bojador (in the neighbourhood of the Canary Islands) was fated never to return. These and other prejudices were vigorously combated by Henry the Navigator. He did not live to witness the full realization of his brilliant anticipations, but they were ably carried out in the reigns of his nephew John II., and his successor Emanuel II., by Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco de Gama, Columbus, and Magelhaens.

The doubling of the dreaded cape by Gilianez caused great surprise, and strongly stimulated the growing spirit of enterprise which at this period many circumstances combined to cherish in the Portuguese nation. Religious zeal, and an ardent desire to spread the faith of the cross, was a leading object, though the missionary efforts of the age were unhappily so deeply tinged with that most dangerous error of the Roman catholic doctrine, that the end sanctifies the means, as to be productive of much misery. It seems scarcely possible that a nation earnestly engaged in the holy work of evangelizing a people should commit so fearful a breach of the Gospel they professedly came to teach, as to take forcible possession of a territory, and sell its unof-

fending inhabitants, or at least suffer them to be sold, and carried away into slavery. Yet so it was—the King of Portugal on the discovery of the Gold Coast, took the title of “Lord of Guinea,” in virtue of a grant made to him by the arrogant Roman pontiff of all lands lying to the southward of Cape Bojador, formed an establishment called Elmina (the mine), which he made the capital of his African possessions, and commenced a traffic in *slaves* and gold dust. In 1484, Diego Cam sailed from Elmina to the southward, safely passed the tropics, thus divesting the torrid zone of its imaginary terrors, and discovered the mouth of the river Zaire or Congo, on whose southern bank he erected the emblem of Portuguese dominion—a lofty stone pillar, surmounted by a crucifix inlaid with lead, with an inscription on the stone showing the arms of Portugal, and the date of the discovery.

The natives received the strangers in the most friendly and fearless manner. When questioned by signs respecting the residence of their chief or king, they replied that he dwelt a long distance in the interior, and undertook to lead a party of the Europeans to him, and bring them back safely within a stipulated period. Having made this arrangement, Diego, taking advantage of a moment when several of the principal persons were on board his ship, weighed anchor and set sail, soothing their alarm by assuring them that in fifteen moons they should be restored to their country. On reaching Lisbon he presented “these nobles,” as they were then called, to the king, who loaded them with presents, and enabled Diego to keep his promise of returning immediately with them to the Congo, where, on arriving, he found the part of his crew whom he had left behind, alive and unhurt. The African monarch, on hearing the honourable treatment his people had received, treated Diego with great cordiality, and sent back with him several of the highest chiefs to be instructed in the principles of the Romish creed, which was accordingly done, and the Africans, after residing two years at Lisbon, were baptized; Henry II., himself, being godfather to the principal envoy, and his chief nobles to the others. They were then conveyed back to their native country with all honour, where the Portuguese were, in their turn, welcomed with joyful acclamation. The king and his chiefs were baptized, free scope was given to the exertions



of the missionaries, and a large number of the people, dazzled and amused by the splendid pageantry of the Papal ceremonials, and gratified by the presentation of beads, Agni Dei, images of the Madonna and saints, became nominal Christians long before they could have attained any sufficient knowledge of the pure and self-denying doctrines to which they were subscribing. All went on with apparent success until the missionaries, probably in too hasty and peremptory a manner, called upon their converts to renounce polygamy, by immediately selecting one wife, and dismissing all the others. Upon this the aged monarch abjured his Christian profession, and relapsed into paganism; but Alphonso, his son, the heir-apparent to the sovereignty, remained faithful, and on his accession to the throne the mission was again quietly established, and being reinforced by successive bodies of priests, spread extensively over the neighbouring country. The missionaries would doubtless have obtained much greater and more permanent hold over both the minds and the affections of the people, had they reasoned temperately and patiently with them on the vanity of their idolatrous and unchristian practices, instead of stealing secretly into their temples and setting them on fire, destroying their idols, and even personally ill-treating refractory individuals.\* But the crowning blow to their influence was the establishment, among other ecclesiastical arrangements, of the Inquisition; this caused a sudden revulsion against them, and they thenceforth maintained only a precarious and even dangerous position. When and how they finally quitted, or were expelled, is not known, but the explorations of the present century prove that no trace or recollection of them now exists in this vicinity.

The discovery of the Congo River was speedily followed by others of greater importance. In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz was dispatched by the King of Portugal, in command of two small vessels, to find a way to India round the south-eastern extremity of Africa, according to a map given to Prince Henry by the Moors. Diaz was

likewise specially desired, as were all the officers employed on the African service, whether by sea or land, to neglect no opportunity of making inquiry of the natives, wheresoever they might be met with, respecting a Christian nation or collection of tribes, supposed to be governed by a Nestorian bishop, then much talked of throughout Christendom, under the singular name of Prester John. His dominions were supposed to stretch from Abyssinia far inland, and as the breadth of Africa was very imperfectly conjectured, it was thought probable that a mission from the east coast might be able to reach the court of the illustrious personage concerning whom so much mysterious interest had been excited by travellers from eastern Asia, and likewise by the statements made by some of the African kings or chiefs, respecting a potentate to whom, on their accession, they paid homage, who was neither heathen nor idolator, but professed a religion apparently similar to that of the Christians. The curiosity thus raised received no gratification from the expedition of Diaz, though his earnest zeal was crowned with a geographical discovery of the first importance to his country. He doubled the Cape of Good Hope, without being aware of its actual position, made the western point of Mossel Bay (named by him Cabo Vaceas, from the number of cattle which he saw grazing there), and on Thursday the 14th of September, 1486, (the Romish anniversary of the Holy Cross,) he anchored in Algoa Bay. Here the spirit of his mariners began to droop, and they firmly, though respectfully, urged upon their adventurous leader the necessity of returning to seek after the provision tender, from which they had parted.

Diaz had no authority to compel them to proceed in defiance of obstacles so grave as those which impeded his further progress; it was, besides, evident from the continued trending of the land to the north-eastward, that some great cape had been passed. He therefore landed on a rocky island in the bay, (Santa Cruz) accompanied by his chief officers and several sea-

\* In a work entitled *Discovery and Adventure in Africa*, published in 1837, an amusing anecdote is related respecting the mode adopted by the Roman Catholic priests to enforce conviction upon a refractory subject. "A missionary at Maopango, having met one of the queens, and finding her mind inaccessible to all his instructions, determined to use sharper remedies, and seizing a whip, began to apply it to her majesty's person. The effect he describes

as most auspicious; every successive blow opened her eyes more and more to the truth, and she at length declared herself wholly unable to resist such affecting arguments in favour of the catholic doctrine. It was found, however, that she had hastened to the king, with loud complaints respecting this mode of spiritual illumination, and the missionaries thenceforth lost all favour, both with that prince and the ladies of his court."—P. 60.

men, and having taken possession of it in the name of his sovereign, planted there the usual stone pillar and cross, and partook of the sacrament with his companions, whom he then desired to state on oath, what they believed to be his and their duty to their monarch in this emergency. With one accord, they repeated their former declaration; he then conjured them to continue their attempt by sailing only two or three days more, pledging himself that if no important discovery should be made, he would no longer delay complying with their solicitations. During the time specified, they reached and entered the mouth of a stream named by them Rio d'Infante, but now known as the Great Fish River, and failing to procure any information from the aborigines respecting the position of India, they returned to Santa Cruz, doubled the great cape called by Diaz, Cabo de los Tormentos (Cape of Storms), from the heavy gales he there encountered. This appellation was changed by his royal master, John II., to the more auspicious title of Boa Esperanza (Good Hope),\* from the prospect it offered of finding the much desired maritime route to the East Indies, which was eventually laid open by Vasco de Gama in 1497. In 1510, Francisco de Almeida, first viceroy of the newly acquired Portuguese dominions in India, returning thence with a fleet to Portugal, cast anchor at the Cape, and sent a party on shore to traffic for cattle; but this the natives refused, and compelled them to return to their ships. The viceroy was with difficulty persuaded to make another attempt to obtain refreshments, by landing in person, accompanied by a considerable body of officers and men; on entering the long-boat he exclaimed, alluding to his advanced age, with a melancholy presentiment of the issue of the adventure, "Ah, whither do you carry seventy years?" On landing, a trifling dispute between a sailor and a Hotentot, respecting a pair of brass buckles, is said to have been the immediate occasion of the contest which ensued; but it is far more probable that it was caused by an attempt to seize by force the cattle, which the natives refused to sell. The result was, that seventy-five Europeans, including the Viceroy, were laid dead on the shore, and the survivors fled in hasty confusion to their ships.

\* Diaz was drowned off the Cape of Good Hope, eleven years after its discovery.

The revenge taken by the defeated foe was cruel and cowardly in the extreme. Two or three years after, a fleet bound for India again touched at the Cape, and the Portuguese, aware of the value placed by the aborigines on "glittering copper," landed a brass cannon heavily loaded, and telling the aborigines they had brought it as a present to their chief, directed them to drag it away by means of the long ropes attached to the mouth. The unsuspecting natives joyfully complied, and great numbers of them extended themselves in two files all the length of the ropes, full in the range of the shot; a torch being applied to the powder, a fearful slaughter ensued; those who escaped fled to the mountains in the wildest consternation, while their treacherous enemies re-embarked at leisure.

During the middle of the sixteenth century, the fleets of Portugal occasionally resorted to the Cape and the neighbouring bays, for the purpose of obtaining refreshments; but in 1581 the Portuguese fell under the cruel and degrading yoke of Philip II. of Spain (the husband of Mary, Queen of England), and the spirit of maritime adventure, which had so markedly characterized them, did not long survive their independence. The monopoly of the eastern seas and the chief part of their colonial empire were gradually wrested from them by the Dutch; whose naval supremacy was in turn contested by the English, who, in 1614, impressed with the importance of the Cape of Good Hope as a political position, attempted to establish a small convict settlement on Robben Island, Table Bay; but failed in consequence of an affray with the natives, in which some of the Europeans were killed, and the remainder compelled to quit. In 1620 Shilling and Fitz-Herbert, the commanders of two ships, belonging to the English East India Company, finding a Dutch fleet in Table Bay, and hearing that they intended forming a settlement there, thought to anticipate them by taking formal possession in the name of their sovereign, James I., and were suffered to do so without molestation by the Dutch officers; but no step in confirmation of this procedure appears to have been taken by the home authorities. At this time English, Dutch, and Portuguese vessels were in the habit of touching at the Cape on their outward and home-bound voyages, to procure refreshments, bury letters beneath large stones, and obtain those left for them in a



similar manner by the ships of their respective nations.\*

The wreck of the *Haarlem*, a vessel belonging to the Dutch East India Company, in 1648, was the circumstance which more immediately led to the formation of a settlement. Two of the voyagers, named Leendert Janz and N. Proot, after residing there for some months, while waiting for a passage in the next home-bound fleet, addressed an able and energetic memorial to the directors, setting forth the numerous advantages which would accrue to the company from the formation of a fort and garden at the Cape; showing that their ships and seamen would thus be enabled to procure better refreshment than St. Helena could afford, not only from the great capability of the soil and climate for the cultivation of various kinds of fruit and vegetables, but also on account of the abundance of sheep and cattle possessed by the "savages" who dwelt in the land, whom they described as kindly, hospitable, and confiding, and with whom they had been trading daily in perfect amity. The memorialists state that it was indeed true that some soldiers and sailors had been beaten to death, but they add; for this "we have not the natives, but the rude unthankfulness of our own people, to blame; for last year, when the fleet under the command of Wollebrandt Geleijnsen, lay at the Cape, instead of making to the natives any recompense for their good treatment of those of the *Haarlem*, they shot seven or eight of their cattle, and took them away without payment, which may likely cost some of our people their lives if opportunity offers, and whether they have not cause, your honours will be pleased to consider." Among the inducements urged by Janz and Proot in favour of their project, was, that by maintaining a kindly intercourse with the natives, who had already given evidence of their ability to acquire a knowledge of the Dutch language, many souls would be brought to God and to the Christian religion, so that the formation of the said fort and garden would "not only

tend to the gain and profit of the honourable company, but to the preservation and saving of many men's lives, and, what is more, to the magnifying of God's holy name, and to the propagation of his gospel, whereby, beyond all doubt, your honours' trade over all India will be more and more blessed."†

The above representations probably decided the directors in at once attempting to establish themselves at the Cape. The formation of the proposed residency was entrusted to Jan van Riebeeck, a member of the return fleet whose ungrateful conduct was so indignantly reprobated by Janz and Proot. In a letter written by Van Riebeeck to the directors, or Chamber of the Seventeen, as they are more frequently termed, bearing date June, 1651, he expresses his gratification at having been admitted into their "praiseworthy service at his humble request," and confirms the statements of the memorialists in all points except with regard to the natives, whom he describes with evident prejudice as a savage set, by no means to be trusted; but he does not attempt to refute the direct accusation made against the Dutch by their own countrymen for "rude unthankfulness" and dishonesty.‡ This communication, as well as many subsequent ones, are by no means calculated to convey so favourable an idea either of the principles or abilities of the writer as that generally entertained; to obtain "further promotion from his honourable masters in fatherland," was his ruling motive, the welfare of the colonists being a very secondary consideration; while, with regard to the natives, the occupation without payment of as much of the best land as could be appropriated without provoking actual hostilities, and the obtainment, by the temptation of spirituous liquors and tobacco, of their flocks and herds, in exchange for brass and beads, was, from first to last, Van Riebeeck's policy, to which he steadfastly adhered; still, by manœuvring in some shape or other, compelling or inducing the aborigines to dispose of what was to them the main stay of life for the veriest trifles, even at the

\* One of these missives, bearing date 1622, deposited in that year by Richard Blyth, commander of an English vessel bound from Surat for London, was recently found on removing the earth to repair a drain in one of the principal streets of Cape Town.

† *The Record*, a series of official papers (chiefly Dutch) showing the condition and treatment of the native tribes in South Africa, from 1649 to 1809. This valuable compilation, translated and edited at Cape Town, in 1838, by Lieutenant Moodie, R.N.,

mainly at the expense of the local government, forms a quarto volume of 570 closely printed pages.

‡ This accusation was doubtless well founded, for Van Riebeeck himself, in a subsequent communication, when endeavouring to obtain the consent of the directors to an act of most flagrant treachery acknowledges that "it has also often happened, before your honours had any establishment or fortification here, that their cattle have been taken or shot by your servants.—*The Record*, p. 50."

time when their wives and little ones lacked food.

At the close of the year 1651, two ships and a yacht sailed from Holland to take possession of the Cape, and arrived, after a voyage of four months and-a-half, without having touched anywhere for refreshment; the yacht *Goede Hoop* took the lead, and anchored in Table Bay after sunset on the 5th of April, 1652. Neither the names nor condition of the people destined to form the residency are mentioned in the early records, but it is stated in the directions given to Van Riebeeck by the assembly, that, as all the people were to be accommodated within the fort, proper lodging must be arranged for seventy or eighty persons. Among these, we learn from later despatches, were included some soldiers, several convicts, and probably a few slaves; the remainder were chiefly a low class of peasants; but there appears to have been also a small number of a higher order, from whom were selected a council, to which, with Van Riebeeck, the affairs of the residency were entrusted.

The families and the baggage were landed on the 24th of April, and lodged in a loose plank shed, hastily put together, and the erection of the fort, on the Soete (salt) River, was proceeded with as rapidly as the debilitated state of the people would permit. This was the humble commencement of the flourishing city of Cape Town, with its handsome buildings, fine streets, and luxuriant gardens. The country was inhabited by various nomadic tribes, who subsisted partly on the produce of their sheep and cattle, and partly on the flesh of the harts, steen-bucks, and other wild animals who ranged over mountain and valley in countless herds. At this early period, lions, leopards, wolves, and howling hyenas prowled about the "camp" at night; the rhinoceros was frequently seen within a short distance of it, and troops of elephants fed in the neighbouring thickets. A friendly intercourse speedily commenced between the Dutch and the Hottentots (or Ottentoots, as they were then termed);\* one tribe especially, from the neighbourhood of Saldanha

Bay, are most favourably mentioned (8th April, 1652) in the journal kept by Van Riebeeck (and also by his successors in accordance with the special injunction of the Assembly of the Seventeen), as "very handsome, active men, of particularly good stature, dressed however in a cow (or ox) hide, tolerably prepared, which they carried gracefully upon one arm, with an air as courageous as any bravo in Holland can carry his cloak on arm or shoulder." They were armed with assagays (wooden spears, headed with iron), bows, and arrows. Nine of them meeting a much smaller party of the Dutch, who had gone out to fish in the Salt River, behaved "in a very amiable and handsome manner, so as to excite wonder—clasping the captain around the neck with great joy," and intimating their readiness to barter cattle for brass and tobacco. Accordingly, a few days later, Van Riebeeck obtained a cow and young calf for four pieces of flat copper, and three pieces of copper wire, each three feet in length.

Considerable difficulty was however subsequently found in obtaining animal food, the natives in the immediate vicinity of the Cape being very poor, and living chiefly on mussels and wild plants, and the more wealthy tribes having removed inland with their cattle and families, according to their custom in the winter season.

Perhaps a traffic between the Dutch and Africans would more readily have sprung up but for the interdict laid by the first proclamation of the commander (Van Riebeeck) and council, which forbade private trading under penalty of confiscation of the cattle or other articles so purchased, and the deportation of the offenders to Holland without pay or employment. The colonists had no horses, and were not sufficiently fleet of foot to hunt the wild animals, who wandered at will, within a cannon's shot of the fort,† and the great desire for fresh meat may be understood from an entry dated 24th April, 1652, which states that "the people on shore having caught a great sea-cow (hippopotamus), fully as heavy as two ordinary fat oxen, with a very frightful

against the teeth or palate. Kolben affirms it to be their national appellation. Kay and others declare their generic name to have been *Quaiquaë*.

† Van Riebeeck describes himself as exploring in a morning's journey from the fort, "the finest pastures in the world, full of game, harts, hinds, roes, elands, mountain ducks, geese, partridges, pheasants, &c., but all so wild, that it was impossible to catch them."—*Record*, p. 34.

\* The origin of the word Ottentoot, which afterwards merged into Hottentot, after much discussion still remains an unsettled question. Some writers assert that it was a nick-name given by the Dutch, in consequence of the peculiar idiom of the language of this people, and its numerous monosyllables, especially *hot* and *tot*, uttered with strong aspirations from the chest, and a peculiar and frequently repeated guttural click or eluck, caused by pressing the tongue



monstrous head," used it for food. Fish of good quality was happily obtained in abundance; cormorants and penguins, and their eggs, were procured at Robben Island, and vegetables grew well from the imported seed. In the month of May a reinforcement of fifty men arrived from Holland. The inclemency of the weather materially aggravated the sufferings occasioned by insufficient nourishment, and imperfectly constructed dwellings. Dysentery and severe fever carried off many of these unfortunates, others lay prostrate, and in June, out of 116, only fifty were at all able to continue the laborious work of building the fort and digging the ground. Under these circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that they should make attempts at desertion. The runaway convicts from Sydney Cove, New South Wales, hoped in time to reach India or China, and five Dutch fugitives thought to get by land to Mozambique, and from thence make their way to Holland. One of them, named Jan Blank, had dreamed of finding a mountain of gold, and the others were possessed with equally idle delusions. Worn out with hunger and fatigue, they returned, after a week's absence, to the fort, and begged for mercy. The luckless dreamer was flogged and keelhauled, and sentenced, with his companions, to work two years in irons as slaves.\*

The then imperfect knowledge of navigation, and the exaggerated ideas entertained respecting the dangers of the Cape of Storms,† rendered communication with the parent country very unfrequent and uncertain, thus greatly increasing the difficulties and depression of the little settlement. For instance, tidings of the war which broke out between the English and Dutch soon after the passing of the Navigation Act by Cromwell and his parliament, in 1651, did not arrive until January, 1653; and a galiot, the *Roode Vos*, which left the Texel on the 18th of September, 1652, only reached Table Bay on the 2nd of June, 1653, the captain and chief-mate having died on the passage, and the inferior officers and crew

having wandered about the Cape for three months, "in consequence of being misled by the compass."‡

Notwithstanding so many discouragements, the small band of Dutch settlers at this early period, before the introduction of slavery and its concomitant evils, and while still too weak to carry on warfare against the Hottentots, proved themselves gifted in no mean degree with the characteristic endurance and perseverance of the race who, in the "Vader-land," had successfully struggled for freedom from the moral tyranny of Rome, and political subjection to Spain—who had scooped their territory out of the sands of the sea, and sheltering themselves within vast dykes and embankments, from the ceaseless besieging of the German Ocean, had framed a commonwealth which long bade defiance to every power in Europe—whose very nature seemed to delight in conquering difficulties, and who in North and South America,§ China, Japan, Java, and other parts of the globe, manifested such extraordinary energy, enterprise, and judgment.

But while rendering due praise to the Dutch nation, for their bravery and ability during this, the brightest era of their history, the radical errors of their system of colonization cannot be overlooked, more particularly as by them were sown the seeds of the strife which now distracts one of the most important and valuable possessions of the British Crown, and imposes a heavy tax on the public exchequer. The Dutch, it is true, intended, at the outset, to form, not a colony, but simply a Residency of sufficient strength to ensure a place of refuge, where the annual fleet dispatched by them to India, varying in amount from 3,000 to between 5,000 and 6,000 men, should be supplied with fresh meat and vegetables, to the exclusion of the vessels of other, but especially of hostile powers. It was, however, not the less incumbent upon them, if only for the sake of saving their own people much risk and suffering, to have dispatched a small preliminary expedition,

\* *Vide Record*, pp. 15, 16. Whether these fugitives were sailors or convicts, or in what manner they were hound to the company, does not appear; probably they were runaway sailors.

† Sir Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth, 15th November, 1573, on a voyage round the world. His fleet consisted of the *Hind*, 100 tons; *Elizabeth*, 80; *Marygold*, 30; *Swan*, 50; and a pinnace of 15 tons. On his homeward voyage in June, 1579, Drake doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and it is noted in

the account of his voyage, that "the few obstructions here met with, fully convinced him that the Portuguese had grossly misrepresented the passage [as the Dutch did after them], and abused the world with false representations of the horrors and dangers with which it is attended."—*Collection of Curious Voyages and Travels*, 4th edition, 1790. Vol. iii. p. 163.

‡ *Record*, p. 34.

§ New York and Demerara.

accompanied by some person who, like Janz or Prout, should have lived some time on friendly terms with the natives, with power to treat for the purchase of the requisite land and cattle, and explain the friendly intentions of his countrymen in coming among them. As for the far graver wrong of professing earnest zeal for the diffusion of religion among barbarous tribes, and yet taking no means of instructing them in its doctrines; but, on the contrary, making its very name odious in their ears, by being associated with the covetousness and oppression of its nominal disciples—that is an offence which the Supreme Ruler of every nation and every tribe under heaven, never yet suffered to pass unpunished. Nor was it only with regard to the aborigines, that the home authorities showed themselves indifferent, not to say hypocritical, in this important respect; for, disregarding the urgent solicitations of the commander and council, no clergyman was sent out for many years, and the people, meanwhile, were dependant on the casual and rare visits of ministers proceeding to or from India. Yet, notwithstanding the dearth of spiritual instruction and exhortation, a reverent sense of dependance seems to have been maintained among the settlers during their early trials. The council, when first assembled, was opened with prayer for a blessing upon its deliberations; the anniversary of the foundation of the settlement was commemorated by divine worship, and the delivery of the colonists from starvation, by the arrival of provisions from Holland and India, furnished occasion for humble and solemn thanksgiving. To such extremities had they been reduced immediately before receiving these long expected supplies in April, 1654, as to have eaten an ourang-outang, “as large as a small calf, with hands and feet like those of a man, long legs and arms, very hairy, and of a dark grey colour,” which had been found dead on Table Mountain.

Among other causes of their distress, was the theft of nearly the whole of their cattle, forty-four in number, by the natives, and the great mortality which took place among their sheep. The cattle were ear-

ried off one Sunday, while the Dutch were assembled for divine service, and the boy left in charge of them was murdered. The theft was believed to have been committed by a party led by Herry, a Hottentot who had been acting as interpreter, and who had previously made a voyage to Bantam in an English ship. Whether this was or was not the commencement of cattle-stealing—the head and front of the offending on the part of the natives, from that time to the present, it is impossible to tell; but in Van Riebeeck’s journal it is spoken of as unprovoked. Even if it were so, his own statements prove, that before this or any other disturbances, beyond sundry small thefts on either side, had taken place, he had already suggested to the directors, that in the event of being unable to obtain cattle by friendly trade, it would be easy, with 150 men, to seize 10,000 or 11,000 cattle, and take prisoners of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, *as they still constantly come to us without weapons.* (December, 1652.) It is probable that no immediate aggression prompted the robbery,\* as it appears from subsequent records, that having at first believed the Dutch to have come only as visitors, the aborigines became seriously alarmed when they beheld them building, sowing seeds, and gradually occupying the best pastures and springs, to the exclusion of their cattle. Then, knowing that their own subsistence depended mainly on the produce of their flocks and herds, (curdled milk being the chief article of food) they thought, by depriving the intruders of this resource, to compel them to quit the country. The Dutch, being the weaker party, dissembled their wrath, and resolved to bide their time. An entry in Van Riebeeck’s journal clearly illustrates the feelings of either party; avowed dislike and suspicion, on the one side—deadly hatred, concealed by treacherous professions, on the other. He states that his people had been forbidden by the Hottentots to cut wood and pluck grass; he adds, “they become the longer the more insolent, and we must, one time or other, show our teeth; but we ought to wait until they are hereabouts

\* The people before spoken of as coming from Saldanha Bay, to whom, as also to the “Caepmans” and “Strandloopers” the Dutch thought fit to attribute the guilt of the robbery, were previously mentioned as scrupulously honest, so much so that when, after selling an animal, it strayed away, they would

voluntarily restore the piece of copper for which it was purchased, reclaiming it only on bringing back the same beast. They were besides at enmity with the “Caepmans” and “Strandloopers,” that is, with the people of whose territory the Dutch had taken possession.



with a thousand cattle, feeding meanwhile more and more their confidence in us, so as thereby to procure a better opportunity, not only for proper revenge for christian blood, but for a full indemnity for our stolen cattle."—(July, 1654.)

With regard to the unfortunate natives themselves, Van Riebeeck strongly urges the manifold advantages to be obtained by reducing them to slavery; and on another occasion, when describing the seeming kindness and forbearance with which they were being treated, he writes, "this, however, we only do to make them less shy, so as to find hereafter a better opportunity to seize them with all their cattle, 1,100 or 1,200 in number, and about 600 sheep, the best in the whole country. We have every day the finest opportunities for effecting this without bloodshed, and could derive good service from the people in chains, in killing seals or in labouring in the silver mines, which we trust will be found here." Instead of at once indignantly rejecting this infamous scheme, the company informed Van Riebeeck, that with regard to his proposal, in order to be rid of the "Caepmans" (inhabitants of or dwellers at the Cape), "to keep them as slaves, to send some to Batavia, to employ some in killing seals, and others to fetch wood in charge," they thought fit to order him to "wait a little longer," before resorting to such extreme remedies. Subsequently, however, and after receiving the reports of various commissioners, the directors expressed in forcible language their decided disapproval of Van Riebeeck's views respecting the natives, declaring that their refusal to trade was not a sufficient reason for taking their property from them by force. In reply to this and other communications to the same effect, Van Riebeeck vindicated the policy he so frequently suggests—that of extracting from the natives the *amende profitable*, and of rendering the punishment of those who were deemed to "have deserved it," subservient to "the desired extension of the cultivation."\*

The forbearance and simulated forgiveness of injuries practised by the Dutch, so greatly allayed the fears and suspicions of the Africans, as to induce them to recommence a friendly intercourse. Herry (the interpreter) came to the fort, bringing with him, in token of good will, about forty fine cattle for sale, and protested his innocence

of any share in the previous theft, declaring that on hearing of it, he had fled for fear of being punished on suspicion. Van Riebeeck pretended to believe him, and employed him in bartering with strange tribes for cattle, allowing him a small commission; reserving his vengeance for a more convenient opportunity. This occurred about three years after, when Herry's services being no longer required, it was resolved to seize him, and to capture, at the same time, the whole of the live stock belonging to him and his tribe. The treacherous manner in which this project was effected, is thus described by the commander and council, in a despatch to the Chamber, at Amsterdam, dated March, 1659:—

"Herry then [at the time chosen for taking him] lay with his camp about half an hour's walk from the fort, at Salt River, with a good herd of sheep and cattle (believing himself still in our best graces), and he suffered himself to be enticed by fair words into the commander's office, when, upon the 3rd of July following [about a week afterwards] the order was given to Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, to surround Herry's camp with a party of soldiers, with concealed weapons, and then to fetch all the stock, great and small, to the fort; which was easily carried into execution by him in sight of Herry (who was standing the while with us upon the *Cat*), but not without danger to the sergeant's life from some bold Hottentots, who opposed him with assagays, and one of whom he killed, wounding also two or three others, who, with the aid of some more Hottentots, several times repossessed themselves of the cattle; but he as often overtook them on horseback, and besides those wounded, as before stated, shot one, and at last brought all the live stock to the fort, being 110 very fine cattle, and 250 tolerably good sheep, which fully repays us for the stolen cattle, and for the merchandise entrusted to Herry; while, at the same time, by the killing and wounding of the said Hottentots, the murder of the Dutch boy is partially revenged, but not punished."

Poor Herry, and three or four of his companions, who were suspected of having been concerned in the robbery (five years before) were sent to the convict establishment at Robben Island, but he being "old and unfit for work," could not be made very serviceable. His niece, Eva, who had lived from the first coming of the Dutch in the family of Van Riebeeck, pleaded for him "like Esther for her uncle Mordecai,"† but not with a like result. Herry, however, and another Hottentot, succeeded, about a twelvemonth after, in making their escape to the main land in a small two-oared boat.

These proceedings greatly alarmed the natives, and Van Riebeeck took advantage

\* See *Record*, pp. 50, 140, 155.

† See Van Riebeeck's Journal, *Record*, p. 141.

of their terror, to compel them to agree to a so-called treaty, by which they bound themselves to furnish a large quantity of cattle and sheep, in return for brass and tobacco, although well aware that the stipulated quota was much above what they could afford to part with. He exultingly informed his "honourable masters" that the savages were now so far brought into subjection, that none of them durst think of doing the slightest harm to any European, or venture near the fort with their cattle, "apparently out of fear that we may one day serve them *a la Herry*."\* The directors, however, did not take the same view of the matter; they foresaw, at least to some extent, the evils which resulted from this step. To the colonists it taught the fatal lesson of the advantage to be gained by a system of reprisals, while it proved to the aborigines, that the white man could conceal revenge and covetousness for years under the fairest seeming. The results soon became manifest, and other circumstances combined to fan the flame of mutual distrust into unqualified aversion.

Shortly after the formation of the Cape residency, the Dutch East India Company, hoping to diminish its expenses, had issued orders to Van Riebeeck to offer freedom to such of their servants as would accept it, and to grant in freehold to each man as much land as he might desire for gardens, and that untaxed for the three first years, to be subject subsequently to such burdens as might be deemed suitable.

As a further inducement, their wives and children were to be sent out to them on condition of their binding themselves to remain not less than fourteen years at the Cape. At first, no one applied for freedom, being deterred by the numerous restrictions imposed by the company, such as not being

\* See Van Riebeeck's Journal, *Record*, p. 157.

† The first "cargo" was brought from Guinea, in 1658; 228 arrived at the Cape, but no less than forty-three had perished on the passage. Never, perhaps, was there less want of slave labour. The Hottentots needed only careful and patient training to render them capable of far better service than even the Guinea slaves, and would unquestionably have given it at a very cheap rate; but it was the policy of the commander and council to treat them as, and thus probably render them, utterly debased and brutalised. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Barrow, in his admirable work on the Cape, makes some very forcible remarks on this subject:—"Having first held out the irresistible charm that spirituous liquors and tobacco are found to possess amongst people in a rude state of society, they took the advantage of exchanging those pernicious poisons for the only means the natives enjoyed

allowed to trade with the large amount of shipping which visited the port (both from their own and other countries), nor with the natives, nor even with each other; but gradual encouragement, in the shape of advances in money and stock, being held out, nine soldiers and sailors requested their discharge, and others followed their example. More troops were sent to protect, or rather aid them in their aggressions, and slaves were procured from Guinea,† Angola, Madagascar, and other places. The determined desertion of the slaves, notwithstanding the fearful punishment inflicted upon them when recovered, furnished a new cause of complaint against the Hottentots, more particularly the women, who were accused of harbouring them, and were more than once seized upon suspicion, and detained prisoners until their relatives should discover and bring back the missing slaves, in spite of their tears and entreaties, and the offer of "a good number of cattle and sheep,"‡ as a ransom. In this state of things, little was wanted to occasion open warfare between the white and coloured races. The whole Dutch population amounted, in 1658, only to 360 persons, i.e. garrison 95;§ free persons, 51; women and children, 20; slaves (who were kept in irons), 187; and convicts, 7; and it was hardly to be expected that a people so numerous as the Hottentots must then have been, would submit to be robbed of their lands and cattle, without any attempt at resistance. Nothing is said in Van Riebeeck's journal respecting the intercourse which existed between the Dutch and the Hottentot women; that it was extensive is evident from the rapid increase of the race called *Bastards*, and we subsequently learn from the statements of the early missionaries, that it was accompanied by gross brutality on the of subsisting themselves and their families; and, however extraordinary it may appear, instead of instructing and encouraging a race of men of willing and intelligent minds to renew the means of subsistence, of which they had deprived them, they imported, at a vast expense, a number of Malay slaves, not more expert and much less to be depended on than the Hottentots, to whom indeed they even preferred the stupid negroes of Mozambique and Madagascar. From the inquiries I have made, it does not appear that the Hottentots have at any period experienced a treatment equally favourable to that of the meanest slaves."—Vol. i., p. 373.

‡ Van Riebeeck's Journal, July 3rd, 1658.

§ No less than twenty-one of the garrison had escaped by concealing themselves in the last homeward-bound fleet, a circumstance clearly indicative of the hardships to which they had been subjected.



part of the colonists. This probably was an additional root of bitterness. The Dutch, notwithstanding their small number, considered themselves, owing to their superior civilization and the possession of fire-arms, more than a match for the Hottentots, and multiplied their complaints against them, alleging constantly some new theft as a reason for seizing the finest cattle; and, not content with acting on the defensive, besought the commander and council (who evidently shared the popular feeling) to direct the troops to assist them in taking actively hostile measures. The natives on their part reiterated the statement which they had made from the first, that the Dutch were intruders; that they were depriving them, without any right whatever, of their land, a possession so highly valued, that the best pastures had been ever a fruitful subject of dispute and war among themselves. Van Riebeeck, writing in 1659, states, that, on questioning a prisoner, captured in the act of cattle-lifting, as to the cause of their enmity, the man, who spoke tolerable Dutch, "declared that it was for no other reason than because they saw that we were breaking up the best land and grass where their cattle were accustomed to graze, trying to establish ourselves everywhere, with houses and farms, as if we were never more to remove, but designed to take for our permanent occupation more and more of this Cape Country, which had belonged to them from time immemorial. Aye! So that their cattle could not get at the water without passing over the corn land, which we would not allow them to do; that they consequently resolved (as it was their land) to dishearten us by taking away the cattle (with which they could see that we broke up and destroyed the best land), and if that would not produce the effect, by burning our houses and corn until we were all forced to go away. Doman [a Hottentot who had been to Batavia, and was to some extent civilized] had also put into their heads, that after all the houses in the country were destroyed, the fort could be easily surprised, as the earth walls were built with a slope, and thus the Dutch might be forced quite to abandon the country."

The reply made by the Chamber of the Seventeen (August, 1660) is so far creditable that it contains an unqualified admission of the just ground of offence given to the Hottentots by the forcible occupation of their territory, declaring that "the discon-

tent shown by those people in consequence of our appropriating to ourselves, and to their exclusion, the land which they have used for their cattle from time immemorial, is neither surprising nor groundless, and we should therefore be glad to see that we could purchase it from them, or otherwise satisfy them."

Before receiving the above communication, Van Riebeeck had formed and dispatched against the Hottentots the first of those "commandoes," or warlike expeditions, which the desire of injuring, if not extirpating the natives, and seizing on their cattle, rendered so attractive in the sight of the colonists. On this occasion eighty soldiers and fifty inhabitants were sent out in three companies, under the command of the fiscal. Van Riebeeck professing to believe cattle-stealing "a matter most displeasing to the Almighty, when committed by such men as they [the Hottentots] were (who did not know him)," declared the Dutch to be justified in His sight, not only in offering them all possible resistance, but likewise in doing them all possible injury, in order to bring them to a better behaviour. He offered a reward of 100 guilders for the person of Doman, if taken alive, and 50 if dead; and for the rest, 20 guilders living, and 10 dead, "women and children half-price," nor did he scruple to apply "a little torture," to make the prisoners betray the hiding-places of their associates. The slaves were released from irons to join in hunting them, care being taken to prevent their staying away, by detaining their wives, to whom they were known to be tenderly attached. It being, however, discovered that the Guinea slaves purposed joining the Hottentots, they were again put in irons. In spite of these sanguinary proceedings, but few lives were lost. The Hottentots sued for peace, and stated that they had no intention of doing personal injury to the settler whose death had caused the outbreak, but had used their assagays, in the first instance, only in self-defence, after having been fired on; they likewise pleaded much wanton injury and insult on the part of some of the farmers. When asked why they were so anxious to be allowed to return to the Cape, they replied, that finding it hopeless to expel the Dutch, who were daily gaining strength, they gave up the attempt, and earnestly desired to be suffered to live in quiet "in their birthplace and their own land, full

of pure water, after which their hearts always longed." The various arguments urged by them in vindication of the border-warfare which they had been carrying on, as related by Van Riebeeck (a witness by no means favourably disposed towards them), are so forcible, and so nearly what might be urged by the Kafirs to the English with equal propriety at the present day, that they are quoted at length, although, to some extent, they reiterate the sentiments expressed in a previous extract.

"They dwelt long upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle, &c. They also asked whether, if they were to come to Holland, they would be permitted to act in a similar manner, saying, 'What would it signify if you remained here at the fort? but you come quite into the interior, selecting the best for yourselves, and never once asking whether we like it, or whether it will put us to any inconvenience.' They therefore insisted very strenuously, that they should be again allowed free access to the pasture [in the vicinity of the Cape and Table Mountain, from which the Dutch had debarred them]. It was at first objected that there was not grass enough for their cattle and for ours also; they said in reply, 'Have we then no cause to prevent you from procuring any cattle? for if you get cattle, you come and occupy our pasture with them, and then say, the land is not wide enough for us both! who then can be required, with the greatest degree of justice, to give way—the natural owner, or the foreign invader?' They insisted much upon their natural right of property, &c., and that they should at least be at liberty to gather, for their winter food, the bitter almonds and roots which grew there naturally; but this also could not be acceded to, because, on the one hand, it would give them too many opportunities to injure the colonists, and on the other, because we this year had need of the bitter almonds ourselves, for the purpose of planting the projected hedge or live fence [projected for the express purpose of forming a wall to cut off the free communication of the aborigines with the native land they loved so well], (a reason which was not stated to them), but they insisted so much upon this point, that this word must out at last: that they had now lost that land in war, and therefore could only expect to be henceforth entirely deprived of it, the rather because they could not be induced to restore the cattle which they had, wrongfully and without cause, stolen from us; that their country had thus fallen to our lot, being justly won by the sword in defensive warfare, and that it was our intention to retain it."—*Journal of Commander Van Riebeeck, April 6th, 1660. Record, p. 205.*

Whether, in this argument, the civilised or the savage man had the advantage, admits of no question, at least, so far as reason and justice were concerned; but right

and might were on different sides. Van Riebeeck,\* notwithstanding the suggestion made to him by the Chamber of Seventeen, did not attempt to reconcile the Hottentots to the seizure of their land, by offering them any compensation, nor was anything done in the matter until 1672, when Arnout van Overbeke, one of the commissioners sent occasionally by the company to examine and report upon the state of affairs at the residency, stated to the council "that he had been reflecting whether it might not be both practicable and servicable to the company, as well as necessary for the prevention of much future cavilling," to enter into an agreement with the Hottentots, especially with those in whose lands the residency had been, or might be established, whereby they should declare the Cape district, and its dependencies, lawfully sold to the company for a specified sum of money, "in order thus more firmly to establish our masters in the right of property." A formal contract was, in consequence, agreed upon between Van Overbeke, on the part of the East India Company, and a Hottentot chief named Manckhagou, *alias* Schacher, in whom the hereditary sovereignty of the Cape district was alleged to vest, and who agreed to sell and surrender to the Dutch the whole of it, "beginning from the Lion Hill, and extending along the coast of Table Bay, with the Hout and Saldanha Bays inclusive," for the sum of 4,000 reals of Eight, in sundry goods and articles of merchandise. The district called Hottentots' Holland, beginning from the Cape District, and including Table Bay and "the place where the *Yselsteyn* lay at anchor during last June," supposed to be Simon's Bay, was purchased from "the minor prince D'houw, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us [the Dutch] Hottentots Holland, and its dependencies, assisted by the Hottentot chief, Dackkgy (*alias* Cuyper), stadhouder and guardian of the prince, and the captain Oyth'key, his counsellor and representative." No mention is made in either of the deeds, of any provision for the maintenance, much less for the civilization or conversion of the natives dispossessed by these sweeping "contracts," of their birthright, by the cupidity of a few individuals, who, whatever their sovereign

\* Van Riebeeck solicited and obtained from the Dutch East India Company, the grant of a certain tract of land along the sea-coast, behind Table Mountain, which, on his departure from the Cape, he sold

for 1,600 guilders, (about £160 English coin sterling of that period.) For this territory there is no reason to suppose he ever made the native owners the slightest compensation.



power might have been (and even that is very questionable), could have had no such *territorial* dominion, as to authorise them to reduce a numerous people to the condition of beggars, making them henceforth vagrants on their own land. In a subsequent despatch from the Cape, the merchandise stated in both deeds to have been worth 4,000 reals of Eight, is shown to have consisted, in the first case, of "tobacco, beads, brandy, bread, and other trifles, to the value of  $f81 : 16$ , prime cost;" and, in the second of the same, articles to the value "of  $f33 : 17$ , also prime cost, a sum so inconsiderable [write the local authorities] that the matter should not have been so long postponed."\*

It is but too evident that these so-called contracts were steps in the right direction, only in so far as they acknowledged the absence of any inherent right, on the part of the white race, to take forcible possession of the country of the coloured; in all other respects they were as far from being equitable agreements, as if a man should barter with a child sugar-plums for sovereigns. At this early period the Hottentots were far from experiencing or foreseeing the full extent of the misery which the Dutch, on becoming numerous and powerful, would bring upon them. They appear to have sincerely endeavoured to live in quiet, and their inoffensive behaviour during several years (that is, until roused by renewed aggression), is repeatedly noticed by the local authorities. Commander Wagenaar, the successor of Van Riebeeck, expressly stated, in reply to the questions of one of the company's commissioners, that he had never heard of any murders, thefts, or robberies, committed by them since the war of 1659, and did not anticipate any, so long as the colonists should refrain from giving them cause by

ill-treatment, "to take revenge by theft or fire-raising." He therefore gave orders that they should no longer, "out of wantonness, or upon trifling causes, be called by the garrison, the cattle herds, or the sailors, 'black stinking dogs;' still less be kicked, pushed, or beaten, as our Masters in the fatherland most earnestly recommend [this caution], in order that these poor people may not thus be rendered more averse and disposed to fly from us."†

The settlement itself progressed very slowly, and gave little indication of the magnitude and importance which it was eventually destined to attain. The records of the administration of Van Riebeeck and his successors, contain heavy complaints, on the one part, of the drunkenness,‡ laziness, and dishonesty of the burgers§ or farmers who had received their freedom; and on theirs of severe restrictions, against which it was impossible to make head by any industry. After becoming hopelessly indebted to the company, frequent and occasionally successful endeavours were made to escape in vessels bound to India, Holland, or England. The Dutch Governor-general of India, in answer to a communication from Van Riebeeck on this subject, writes (Dec., 1659)—"We agree with you that the desertion and concealment of free men, as well as of the company's servants, at the Cape, ought to be met with severe punishments, for it would otherwise be impossible to keep the Cape residency any longer in existence.

\* \* \* \* At the same time innumerable complaints are made to us that the free men cannot earn a subsistence there, and are thus compelled to fly by hunger and privation." There can be little doubt that the cultivation of the land at this time, under the restrictions of the Dutch system, rarely proved remunerative; among other

pon, by which, according to his own account, he constantly witnessed nominally civilized and Christian men reduced to the condition of brute beasts. Every purchase of cattle was concluded by dram-drinking, and on one occasion "a tub of brandy and arrack mixed was set open in the middle of the esplanade of the fort, with a little wooden bowl, from which these people made themselves so drunk that they made the strangest antics in the world." This scene, so disgraceful to the person who instigated and records it, occurred, we are informed in the same paragraph, "before the sermon," on the day on which the Dutch commemorated the holy festival of the Ascension.—Van Riebeeck's Journal, May 6th, 1660.

§ *Burger*, *burgher*, or *borger*, signifies a citizen, burgess, or freeman; *boer* signifies a countryman or peasant, and by general usage, though not strictly correct, is translated by the English word *boor*.

\* The real of Eight is the old Spanish dollar, value about four shillings and four pence; the florin is identical with the guilder, and the stiver is the twentieth part of a florin.

† *Record*, pp. 255, 258.

‡ "The greater number of the freemen," says Van Riebeeck, "whenever any ships are in the roads, may be daily seen as intoxicated as irrational creatures, with the strong drink they obtain from the shipping."—*Record*, p. 181. Yet this very vice, which he knew to be so destructive to steady industry and propriety of conduct, he scrupled not to foster in the untutored Hottentots. While using every possible precaution to prevent their acquiring a knowledge of the management of fire-arms, which would have rendered them to the last degree dangerous as enemies, he remorselessly, and under pretence of friendship, encouraged them in the use of that more deadly wea-

evidence may be noticed a resolution of the council in 1660, which provides for employing, at his own request, as a farmer on account of the company, a man who had landed as a free immigrant in 1659, at ten guilders per mensem (twenty shillings a month) for the term of ten years; and Commander Wagenaar, in 1662, found the greater part of the free farmers inclined to leave the plough and return to the company's service, if allowed so to do, finding that all their crops were required to repay the advances of the company. Of their character he gives a very unfavourable account, declaring that not above six or eight of them were either in repute, or, in fact, respectable and industrious men, and that the rest were "depraved from their youth upwards, lazy, drunken fellows," who cared as little for their Dutch servants as for beasts. In a despatch dated four years later, he speaks of them, and of their servants, in equally strong terms, declaring many of them to be reckless and useless, disobedient and worthless subjects, whom it would be well to get rid of one way or the other, as it was to be feared that in the event of a hostile attack\* they would be the first to go over to the enemy, some of them having been long known to wish and pray that the English fleet might but come hither to convey them from this devil's land, as they commonly called it. Unsuccessful attempts at desertion were severely punished, the culprits being sentenced to be flogged and kept for two or three years in irons, without wages; and one man, for only expressing a wish that he had accompanied some deserters into the interior, was sentenced to fall thrice from the yard, and receive 100 lashes before the mast. Nor was it this offence only which was punished with excessive severity; caprice and tyranny marked the general proceedings of Van

Riebeeck and the Cape Council, both in their judicial and legislative capacity. In the list of convictions and penalties for crime, extending from 1652 to 1662, we find one man (a seaman) for stealing fruit from the company's garden, sentenced to six months' hard labour in irons, fifty lashes, and forfeiture of one month's wages. Another for evincing discontent with the provisions issued, and wishing the devil to take the purser for serving out penguins instead of beef and pork, received 100 blows with the butt of the musket. To be keellauled, to have the tongue bored, or a knife drawn through the hand, are punishments also mentioned as inflicted upon different members of this small community.

But while every lapse from right was liable to be visited so heavily, proportionate encouragements for good conduct were wholly wanting. Commissioner Verburg, in 1676, declared that the colonists were so limited and restricted in every respect, as to be freemen only in name, and that if the placats of the council (proclamations or ordinances) "were enforced to the letter, the ruin of the inhabitants would often be the consequence."† They could scarcely be expected to refrain from endeavouring to evade enactments which required them to deliver up to the local government all the corn they raised at a fixed price, and to purchase from it monthly whatever they needed at an advance of twenty-five per cent., which interdicted them from carrying on any barter with the natives, the shipping visiting the bay, or even with each other, and compelled them to purchase their cattle, provisions, merchandise, clothing, &c., from the company alone. Besides these hardships, they were required to be constantly armed, to attend military parades on Sundays, and at other times, to be ready at any moment to proceed against the aborigines,

\* The Dutch at this time looked with jealousy both upon the French and Portuguese, but the English were the especial objects of their dread and dislike. The partiality evinced by Herry and many other natives towards them, had been from the first an additional cause of suspicious distrust; consequently, when English vessels put in at the Cape, they found great difficulty in procuring the most inferior and insufficient supplies of meat and vegetables, and were treated with ill-disguised enmity. On several occasions captains with ships disabled from bad weather, or with crews so reduced by scurvy—the plague of that age—as to be scarcely able to work them, were preserved from the worst treatment only by the recollection of the £80,000 which Cromwell had compelled the Dutch to pay on making

peace in 1654, for the injuries inflicted upon the English East India Company, at their Asiatic possessions. In a despatch, dated May, 1663, Commander Wagenaar informs the directors of a horrible outrage committed upon an English crew by the commanders of two Dutch vessels; the captain and ten persons having been put to the torture by lighted matches being placed between their fingers, to force them to reveal where their money was secreted. Wagenaar states, that he has been particular in recording the details, as the event might create new disputes with "the easily excited English nation;" and probably it did have some share in producing the renewed hostilities which broke out in the following year.

† *Record*, p. 254.



and were not permitted to build within three miles of each other. The lands granted in freehold to the first settlers, though exempted from taxation for three years, were subsequently made liable to an assessment, fixed at one-tenth of the produce raised. A tenth of all stock grazed on the pasture land, which they were allowed to occupy, was also required by the government, and the value of imported goods received by them on credit from the company was secured by special mortgages on their freeholds. The tithe was to be assessed by the collector before the crops were reaped, and to prevent frauds and evasions, no person was allowed to bake bread or to purchase grain, without a licence, or to have flour ground except at the Dutch East India Company's mills, near the fort.

In 1666, Cornelis Van Quaelbergen succeeded Wagenaar as commander, but was superseded in the following year (on account of the kind reception and supplies which he furnished to the admiral and crew of a French vessel which touched at the Cape, instead "of allowing them to drift upon their own fins"), by Jacob Borghost, under whom great cruelties were practised towards the Hottentots. Of this there is no record in the official documents of that period; but Governor† Bax, writing a few years after (1677), animadverts strongly on the shameful conduct of the settlers in former times, but especially under Commander Borghost, in not only frequently and forcibly despoiling the "Gonnema" and other Hottentots of their cattle, but also in treacherously firing upon and killing many of them, in consequence of which, so strong a feeling of hostility had been produced in the minds of the natives, that instead of its being deemed safe to send two or three men far into the interior, now twelve in a body could hardly be dispatched "twenty mylen," without apprehension. These remarks throw considerable light on the true causes of the renewal of warfare between the settlers and the Gonnema Hottentots, and of the commando dispatched against the latter in 1672. Before the expedition started, news arrived at the Cape of the attack on the little garrison at Saldanha Bay, the loss of

the corporal in charge and three men, and the plunder of the company's effects; orders were consequently given to endeavour to fall upon the Gonnema people and their allies unexpectedly, and, as far as possible, destroy them without mercy, sparing nothing that was male. To surprise the natives, when on their guard, was, however, no easy matter, and the Dutch were compelled to return after capturing "800 excellent horned cattle, and 900 fine sheep," having sustained no injury, with the exception of one of the mounted burghers, who having "left the rest of the party, in order to kill some Hottentots who had hidden themselves in a sedgy river, was wounded in the back with an assagai (though not dangerously), in consequence of his pistols repeatedly missing fire."‡

In 1676 another commando was despatched against the same tribe, who were then encamped a day's journey beyond the Berg River, in the "Suyker Bergen" (Sugar Mountain), which resulted in the death of a chief named Kees, and some Hottentots, and the capture of about 160 head of cattle and a few sheep; a booty which, though small, was doubtless very acceptable to the Dutch, from the great mortality which had previously ravaged their flocks and herds, and the hope of which had probably no small share in prompting the expedition. The Gonnemas sued for peace in the following year; it was granted on condition of their paying an annual tribute of thirty oxen for the first returning fleet—a quantity which there is every reason to suppose they could not afford to part with, without being reduced to beg or steal, for the support of their families, from the Europeans, or from other tribes.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the handful of colonists should have deemed it necessary to have an armed force protecting the cattle when grazing; one-third of the garrison mounted guard every night, and the commander, chaplain, and surgeon, never moved about without pistols or fire-arms of some description.

Such a state of things could not long continue; in truth, no European settlement, however small, could well be established amid savage tribes, without greatly improving and again reduced it to a residency, and, on the death of Governor Bax, appointed an officer (Simon Van der Stell) to succeed him, with the rank of commander only.

‡ Despatch from Governor Goske and council, to the Chamber of Seventeen. July, 1673.

\* Despatch from the Chamber of Seventeen to Commander Borghost and council. Nov. 1667.

† The Cape was raised to a government in 1671, but the directors, finding but small progress made in agriculture, declared that the country which could not produce its own corn, could not be called a colony,

ing or greatly deteriorating their condition. It would seem to be almost hopeless to expect from a body of nominally Christian and civilized men, the mixture of forbearance, firmness, discretion, and strict honesty, so peculiarly necessary to those, who, from whatever motive, desire to obtain the confidence and permanent affection of the people of a nation yet buried in heathen darkness; putting aside, therefore, all idea of elevating them, it remains either to extirpate or reduce them to subjection. The course adopted by the Dutch combined these alternatives, and gradually brought under their yoke the various neighbouring tribes, whose love of ardent spirits, and jealousy of each other, rendered them an easy prey. Famine and sickness, the too frequent accompaniments of war, thinned the ranks and diminished the individual strength and courage of the aborigines. Various diseases unknown before the arrival of the foreign invaders, likewise committed fearful ravages; measles, and an infectious malady not named, destroyed thousands, and an eye-witness, the Rev. Mr. Valentyn, speaks in 1713, of a sweeping pestilence,\* whereby "hundreds of fugitive natives lay dead upon the roads." It would be needlessly prolix to follow the colonists step by step, in their gradual increase in number and power, or more than illustrate, by a few striking instances, the atrocities committed by the settlers, and the injustice legalized by local authorities against a foe by nature barbarous, and too often brutalized by oppression. In Africa, most especially, it might then as now be said—

"Man's inhumanity to man, makes countless nations mourn."

The civilization which became a potent element of destruction, could not have its violence checked, or its vengeance softened by a merely nominal profession of Christianity, which changed not the heart; the first principles of justice were violated in 1652, and after two centuries of Dutch and English administration, the white and black man are still struggling to the death—the one for dominion, the other for existence; the soil of South Africa is still bedewed with human gore; and the causes of this terrific violation of the divine law are to be traced to the grievous errors of dis-

honesty, false policy, and neglect of Christian duties, which so strongly marked the first stages of Dutch colonization, and which, it is to be feared, are far from having been wholly abjured, even in the middle of the nineteenth century, by their successors in the government of the country.

In 1700 the free trade in cattle was allowed between the settlers and the natives, on condition that no force or compulsion should be made use of. The farmers, however, soon turned this licence to a means of oppression; and, instead of trading, proceeded in parties of eighty or ninety beyond the boundaries, and, being armed, forced the natives (and even murdered them in some instances) to give up their cattle, and afterwards shared the plunder. In 1702, one of these marauding parties, consisting of forty-five persons, returned with 2,000 oxen, which they had forcibly taken from the Honisons and Gonoquas; these, together with the Namaquas, Ubiquas, and Kockemans, retaliated, and many innocent persons suffered. Therefore, in October, 1702, the commander and council repealed the permission given in 1700, and forbade future cattle trading under pain of corporeal and even capital punishment, until the pleasure of the Chamber of Seventeen should be known. So general had been the ill-conduct of the colonists towards the natives, that the directors considered that no punishment could be inflicted without material injury to the colony, as more than half the inhabitants were deeply implicated; they therefore passed it over with a feeble threat, that it should be punished if repeated. It is difficult to suppose they could expect such a warning would prove sufficient to deter the offenders from crimes which they tacitly admitted it to be not to their interest to put a stop; the cattle trade was again sanctioned, and the records thenceforth note annually hostility with the native tribes, many killed on both sides, and numerous cattle taken and recaptured, by both Europeans and aborigines. Kolben, a Prussian astronomer and naturalist, who visited the Cape in 1705, and remained there some years, under the especial protection of the Dutch East India Company, gives many details, correct and incorrect, concerning the extensive Hottentot popu-

\* Thunberg, doubtless alluding to the same "sweeping pestilence," says, "in 1713 the small pox was first brought here by a Danish ship, when it made a dreadful havoc among Europeans, as well as

Hottentots, only three houses having escaped. The Hottentots died in such multitudes, that their bodies lay in the fields and highways unburied."—Vol. i., p. 120.



lation which then inhabited South Africa, and devotes a chapter (VI.) of his work,\* to the description of what he terms sixteen different "nations," viz., the "Gunjeman, Koehaqua, Sussaqua, Odiqua, Chirigriqua, Greater and Lesser Namaqua, Attaqua, Koopman, Hessaqua, Sonqua, Dunqua, Damaqua, Guaros or Guariqua, Houteniqua, Chamtouer, and Heykom," to which he adds the "Terra de Natal, inhabited by the Caffres." Each nation he describes as having an hereditary chief called *Konquer*, who presided in the courts of the elders or captains of each kraal or village, declared war or peace, and commanded the fighting men. The duties attendant on the hereditary office of the captain of the kraal, were to preserve peace, administer justice within his jurisdiction, and hold a subordinate command in war. Before taking office, he solemnly assured the assembled people that he would not alter or deviate from their ancient laws and customs.

In his fourth chapter, Kolben describes the Hottentots as he saw them, and refutes many of the mis-statements put forth by the Dutch; he says—"they are by no means stupid, have some sense of God and of religion; I have known many of them understand Dutch, French, and Portuguese, to a degree of perfection; and, allowing for defects in pronunciation, express themselves roundly in those languages. I knew one who had gained the English and Portuguese in a very little time, and spoke them with surprising readiness and propriety. In agriculture and many other arts and customs these people discover good marks of capacity and discernment; they make excellent servants, and perhaps the faithfulest in the world."

\* Kolben's *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*. English edition. London, 1731. Vol. i., p. 61.

† Parliamentary Papers relative to the Cape of Good Hope, 1835; p. 17.

‡ The Bushmen, Boshies, or Bosjesmen, are supposed by Barrow and others to be the veritable aborigines of this part of Africa; but some authorities consider these wild and predatory tribes to be the remains of large Hottentot hordes, reduced by war or famine to extreme poverty.

§ Sparrman, vol. i., p. 213. This good old woman, named Helena, and some few others, lived to reap, even in this world, the fruits of patient continuance in well-doing. From time to time reports reached the Moravian Society of the earnest desire entertained by the converts for the return of their beloved teacher, and the "United Brethren" repeatedly applied to the Dutch East India Company to sanction it. This, however, was as constantly refused. Schmidt died; but the society increasing in influence, and becoming

In 1723 the barbarous treatment of the Hottentots, and the complaints made by them, were laid before the Council by the "churchwardens at the Paarl;"† but it would appear without effect. In 1727, some feelings of compunction appear to have been aroused in their favour; the cattle trade was once more prohibited, on account of the extreme poverty to which they had been reduced by forced barter with the farmers, who were enjoined to refrain from injuring them under pain of being punished as disturbers of the public peace.

In 1739, "the great Bushmen‡ and little Namaquas complained to the Council that frequent murders and robberies were committed upon them by the colonists. The fiscal (a kind of local magistrate) was ordered to investigate their statements; and the result of the inquiry being considered unfavourable to the complainants, two commandoes were ordered out against them. About this time an attempt was made for the promulgation of the Christian religion among the Hottentots, which it will be easily conceived the burgers and boors met with undisguised hostility. A Moravian missionary, named George Schmidt, preached the gospel to them during three years (from 1739 to 1742) with remarkable success, it being received "with great avidity and zeal." There were numerous converts at *Serjeant River*, a small branch of the river *Zonder End*; one of these was mentioned to Dr. Sparrman, in 1775, as still living; she "used to perform her devotions every morning on her bare knees by the side of a spring; she had a German bible, which she often read, and treated with the greatest veneration: her behaviour throughout life was decent and quiet."§ Schmidt, who had

more and more convinced of the urgency of the case, at length prevailed on the directors to permit the renewal of this mission; and at the close of 1792 three missionaries—who, according to the principles of the Moravians, were able mechanics as well as sound and zealous Christians—arrived at Bavian's Kloof (Baboon's Glen), and established themselves on the very spot where Schmidt had taught half-a-century before, holding their first meetings under the shade of a large pear-tree, planted by him. Many Hottentots flocked joyfully round their new teachers, especially old Helena, who, taking her Testament from its leathern case, read to the astonished missionaries the narrative of our Saviour's birth. For eighteen years after this she lived peacefully at Bavian's Kloof, and expired in 1800, having attained the age of nearly a hundred years.—[For further details on this interesting subject, see *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, by the Rev. John Holmes; pp. 372-6.]

obtained the name of "the Great Hottentot converter," having christened five natives in Sept. 1742, was prohibited from repeating that offence, and banished from the country on the pretence of his having "illegally made himself a chief among the Hottentots in those parts, in order to enrich himself by their labour, and the presents they made him of cattle."\* This allegation comes with peculiar ill-grace from a government and people who were at that time forcibly depriving these very Hottentots of their lands, plundering them of their cattle, and slaying

them if they resisted being made slaves of; while it proves beyond dispute the hold upon their affections that might be gained by kind treatment, when one man, poor and unaided, could do so much in so short a period. The following table, showing the number and condition of the people, and the amount or stock, produce, revenue, and expenditure for the years 1769 to 1773 inclusive, derived from the annual reports of the Cape government, is interesting as affording a view of the state and progress of the colony about a century after its establishment:—

| Particulars.  | 1769.    | 1770.   | 1771.   | 1772.   | 1773.   |
|---|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Company's servants—civil, military and commercial . . . . . | 1,356    | 1,401   | 1,361   | 1,325   | 1,490   |
| Sick in hospital <sup>1</sup> . . . . .                     | 399      | 303     | 439     | 638     | 675     |
| Company's live stock, cattle . . . . .                      | 3,231    | 3,129   | 3,133   | 2,719   | 2,958   |
| " " horses . . . . .  | 307      | 342     | 354     | 369     | 336     |
| Colonists, men . . . . .                                    | 2,147    | 2,136   | 2,218   | 2,283   | 2,300   |
| " women <sup>2</sup> . . . . .                              | 1,486    | 1,517   | 1,538   | 1,576   | 1,578   |
| " boys . . . . .  | 2,184    | 2,256   | 2,333   | 2,263   | 2,318   |
| " girls . . . . .   | 2,132    | 2,179   | 2,212   | 2,251   | 2,269   |
| Male European servants . . . . .                            | 78       | 89      | 77      | 87      | 89      |
| Slaves, adult male . . . . .                                | 5,650    | 5,660   | 5,631   | 5,971   | 7,102   |
| " female . . . . .  | 1,537    | 1,569   | 1,634   | 1,676   | 1,707   |
| " boys . . . . .  | 548      | 510     | 533     | 550     | 564     |
| " girls . . . . .   | 369      | 418     | 537     | 518     | 529     |
| Horses . . . . .  | 7,427    | 7,883   | 8,188   | 8,514   | 9,061   |
| Cattle . . . . .  | 38,012   | 38,357  | 37,977  | 38,665  | 39,019  |
| Sheep . . . . .   | 244,558  | 258,250 | 264,943 | 271,002 | 285,094 |
| Wine (leggers) . . . . .                                    | 4,624½   | 3,976   | 3,784   | 1,934½  | 5,332   |
| Wheat (muids) . . . . .                                     | 12,953   | 14,276  | 14,244  | 17,480  | 21,775  |
| Revenue . . . . .   | f166,673 | 151,399 | 157,556 | 163,648 | 171,637 |
| Expenditure <sup>3</sup> . . . . .                          | 450,524  | 464,775 | 452,010 | 475,228 | 510,902 |

*Note.*—No census taken of native population, of whom and of other free coloured persons twenty-two were convicted and eight capitally punished during the same period.

<sup>1</sup> The sick consisted chiefly of scorbutic recruits or seamen: the number of deaths from scurvy, between Holland and the Cape, much exceeded, during this period, that of the sick left there; in 1771, twelve ships lost, on the passage, 1,034 men, or nearly half their crews.

<sup>2</sup> In consequence of an urgent appeal made by Commander Van der Stell and council, in 1685, on behalf of the colonists, the chief number of whom were "strong, gallant, and industrious bachelors, who, for the solace of their cares, and for the managing of their domestic concerns, would most gladly be married," forty-eight young women were sent out to the Cape, by the Chamber of the Seventeen, in the following year.

<sup>3</sup> The following is the detail of the expenditure of 1773:—Expenses of shipping, f184,488; ordinary rations, f78,578; ordinary expenses, f30,902; extraordinary expenses, f3,866; buildings and repairs, f17,783; fortifications, f1,155; expense of company's slaves, f18,969; condemnation and confiscation, f4,373; expenses of boats, f9,615; pay of shipping, f14,169; salaries on shore, f146,497.

The explanations attached to each branch of expenditure make no reference to any expense incurred for operations, offensive or defensive, against the natives. In subsequent years such expenses appear under the head of extraordinaries—the extraordinaries for the above five years are successively—3,355—3,427—3,373—4,799 and 3,866 guilders. The expense of the journey of the Landdrosts in 1770 is noticed under this head.

The same observation applies as to the particulars of the colonial revenues;—in 1773, of a total income of 171,637 guilders, 77,775 were derived from the licensed retail of wine, brandy, and beer, of which sum only a small portion was drawn from the interior of the colony. The following are the details of this source of revenue. At Cape Town:—Sale of wine, f29,600; brandy, f32,000; beer, f5,400; impost on spirits sold to foreigners, f9,300; sale of Cape wine at Rondebosch and False Bay, f3,300; of wine and brandy at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, f800.

The European portion of the population, though generally alluded to as Dutch, was chiefly composed of, or descended from, disbanded soldiers from various German regiments, and comprised Prussians, Hanoverians, Flemings, and Poles, besides the descendants of about 150 French refugees, who, in 1690, in consequence of the revoca-

\* Parliamentary Papers, 1835; p. 18.

tion of the Edict of Nantes, sought and obtained a home in South Africa. The so-called Dutch, with some few exceptions, had little knowledge of, and no family connexion with the Batavian Republic; they only knew that the Cape belonged to a company of merchants in Amsterdam, whose especial desire it was that their native tongue should be spoken and taught, to the



exclusion of any other, and that the Dutch laws and customs should, in all points, be steadily enforced. So completely did the language prevail, that the slaves and Hottentots soon acquired it sufficiently to speak it even among themselves, as did also the French immigrants, whose very names lost their nationality; thus Rousseau was changed into Roussouw, Bruyère into Bruel, Terre Blanche into Ters Blans.

The manner in which soldiers were obtained for the Dutch East India Company, to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope and other settlements, is described and strongly condemned by Thunberg, a learned Swede, who in 1772 sailed for the Cape in one of their ships, as surgeon-general.\* He cautions all strangers visiting Amsterdam to be on their guard, for—

“Kidnappers (zeelverkoopers), the most detestable members of society, frequently effect the ruin of unwary strangers, by decoying them into their houses and then selling them to be transported to the East Indies. . . . These man-stealers are citizens who, under the denomination of victuallers, have the privilege to board and lodge strangers for money, and under this cloak, perpetrate the most inhuman crimes. . . . They not only keep servants to pick up strangers in the street, but also bribe the carriers who carry the baggage of travellers from the ships to the inns, to bring strangers to lodge with them, who, as soon as they arrive are shut up in a room, together with a number of others, to the amount of an hundred and more, where they are kept upon scanty and wretched food, entered as soldiers upon the company's books, and at length, when the ships are ready to sail, carried on board. The honest dealer receives two months of their pay, and what is called a *bill of transport* for 100, 150, or 200 guilders. In the two, three, or four months during which they are shut up at the kidnapper's, they contract the scurvy, a putrid diathesis, and melancholy (which break out soon after they come on board), and by their pale countenances, livid lips, and swelled and ulcerated legs, are easily distinguished from the others, who are healthy and sound. . . . Many innocent people, often of decent family and in easy circumstances, are trepanned by these man-stealers, and must go as soldiers to the East or West Indies, where they are obliged, by the articles of their agreement, to serve at least five years. . . . The Directors of the East India Company can neither be defended as not knowing of such scandalous practices that disgrace humanity, nor, indeed, be acquitted of favouring them at times. For as the company is often in want of men, and does not care to give better pay, they are obliged to overlook the methods used by these infamous traders in human flesh to procure hands.”—Pp. 73, '4, '5.

Of the internal state of the honourable

\* *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, between 1770 and 1779, (to the Cape of Good Hope, 1770 to 1773) by Charles Peter Thunberg, M.D.; in four volumes. Third edition. London: 8vo edition, 1793. Vol. i.—Africa.*

company's fleet, the writer describes in most unfavourable terms.

“Theft can hardly be carried to a greater extent than it is on board an East Indiaman, during the time it lies in the Texel. Chests are broken open in the night and emptied of their contents, so that the owner has not a single rag left for shifting himself; hammocks and bed-clothes are stolen, insomuch that the owners are obliged to sleep on the bare boards of the deck: shoes and night-caps are purloined from the feet and heads of those that are asleep, and the sick have frequently their breeches and stockings stripped from off their bodies, so that those who slept, when they awake, and the sick when they recover, must run about in the cold bare-headed, bare-footed, and half naked.”—P. 77.

Add to this, that these unfortunates were, according to the same authority, hard-worked, badly fed, and miserably lodged, and the mortality which took place annually in the fleet, is then amply accounted for. Some idea of the fearful loss of life thus wantonly sacrificed, may be formed from Thunberg's statement of what he witnessed during his voyage from the Texel, in the middle of December, 1771, to the Cape, which was reached the 16th of April, 1772. Each ship had above 100 so-called sailors, and from 200 to 300 of the so-called soldiers. On arriving in the Texel, Thunberg found that several ships which had been lying there since September, had so many sick and dead, “as to be obliged, for want of hands, to wait for a fresh supply, notwithstanding that they had each been sent out at first with more than 300 men” (p. 72). On reaching Table Bay, it was ascertained that on board Thunberg's ship 115 had died, including ten who perished before leaving the Texel, and two who had fallen overboard. The *Hoencoop* had lost 158 men; the *William V.*, 230; and the *Jonge Samuel*, of Zeeland, 103.—(p. 99.)

To resume the history of the colony. In 1773, its limits had extended in far more than due proportion to its population, who coveting yearly more and more land, had driven the natives from pastures which they had not even the poor excuse of needing for the sustenance of their own flocks and herds. This, however, they did not accomplish without some severe struggles, and a most fearful destruction of life on the part of the aborigines, who were hunted and shot like so many wild beasts, only with greater ignominy—the slaying of men by their ruthless and most savage brethren, being looked upon rather as the necessary act of exterminating venomous reptiles or loathsome vermin than as a contest with the

nobler animals, in whose pursuit there was danger to be braved, and glory to be won.

Looking back after the lapse of years, it seems scarcely possible to credit the existence of such an utterly degraded state of public feeling; yet official records and private testimony concur too exactly, to leave any doubt on the subject. Nor, while expressing the deep and just abhorrence excited by a course of almost unmixed cruelty, should it be forgotten that the colonists themselves were oppressed and surrounded by temptations. If Thunberg's statements are correct, which there appears no ground for doubting, many of them had been entrapped, in the first instance; and even supposing them to have come of their own free will, the regulations of the Dutch East India Company were, as has been shown, extremely rigorous, and enforced by heavy penalties; and while their errors were liable to excessive punishment, comparatively little encouragement was held out to them to persevere in well-doing. Many of them were unmarried, and lived in open concubinage with slaves and Hottentots; how could they be otherwise than debauched? they were slave owners—that alone would be sufficient to render most men indolent and cruel, to give them a distaste for the laborious and anxious pursuits of farming, and incline them rather to look to the increase of their stock, under the herding of their bondsmen, as an easier mode of acquiring competence and even affluence; they had many incitements to drunkenness in a land where the vine grew wild; and too little occupation for mind or body, to find pleasure in any but sensual gratifications. This is a fearful picture—the illustrations given in the following pages, will enable the reader to form some estimate of its general truth.

In 1772, Thunberg saw in confinement at Cape Town, 950 men, women, and children of the Bushman nation, who had been made prisoners about 150 miles from Cape

\* Thunberg's Travels. English edition, 1795. Vol. i., p. 132.

† This assertion was probably a mere cloak for their desire of exterminating the natives. Colonel Collins, writing respecting the "horrors which disgraced the name of Christian in these parts," attributes them chiefly to the false accounts made by the burgers or boors—(as they were more generally and perhaps more correctly termed, inasmuch as few were by birth and education above the condition of peasant farmers)—to the authorities at the Cape; and thus proceeds to account for their ill-will. "An attempt to draw them (the Bushmen) into their ser-

vice having proved unsuccessful, and some losses having been occasioned by their disposition to theft, a people not inferior in natural endowments to any upon the face of the globe, were represented to the colonial government as unfit to live. A journey from the Cape was supposed at that time to be too great an undertaking for the purpose of ascertaining any point which concerned only so distant a quarter. The reports received were implicitly believed, and orders were given for unlimited commandoes."—Parliamentary Papers, 1835; p. 40. This testimony, borne by a writer by no means generally prejudiced in favour of native races, deserves particular notice.

Town. They had concealed themselves in a mountain kloof (the colonial word for cleft or narrow pass), and defended their home against a party of boors and soldiers by rolling large stones down upon their enemies. They asserted that they had been forced to attack the colonists, by reason of the Europeans making every year fresh encroachments upon their lands and possessions, and forcing them continually further up the country, whence they were driven back again by other Hottentots, or else killed.\* "The Hottentots," he says, "are almost extirpated."—(p. 279.)

In 1774, the governor (Van Plettenberg) and council approved of an extensive commando devised by the Landdrost and Heemraden (local board of magistrates,) of Stellenbosch, and the militia officers assembled there, for the purpose of re-establishing in their "loan farms" certain of the settlers, or rather squatters, who having taken forcible possession of the best portions of the Camdeboo, Nieuwveld, Hantam, Groote, Middel and Kleyn, Rogge and Bokkeveld districts, reported themselves to have been compelled to quit by the marauding incursions of the Hottentots and Bushmen.†

The expedition was divided into three distinct bodies or commandoes; one of which was "to assemble behind the Sneeuwberg, and to make the attack in those districts;" the second "to assemble at the Sax (Zak) River, and make the attack in the surrounding districts;" the third "to meet in the Lower Bokkeveld, and to make the attack in the so-called Bosjesman's (Bushmen's) land." "Ninety firelocks, 900 lbs. of gunpowder, 1,800 lbs. of lead, 3,000 flints, 24 handcuffs, and 12 leg-irons," were contributed from the "Castle of the Good Hope," in addition to the offensive weapons possessed by the burgers and local militia; a field-commandant was appointed, to whom, for the first time, was given the rank of cornet, and promotion was likewise conferred on the field-corporals.



In the event of the Hottentots and Bushmen not fleeing from their country, or giving it up on the combined attack being made, they were to be "entirely subdued and destroyed." According to the instructions given to the commandant by the local authorities, it was left to his good management, and that of the leaders of the other parties, to act "according to the circumstances and exigencies of the case, and to attack and slay them (the natives) in such a cautious manner however, that our own inhabitants may be as little as possible exposed to danger, and not rashly led to slaughter." The women and children would, it was expected, be captured in such numbers as "to become troublesome; the commandants were therefore authorized, if they chose, to release them, but were ordered to keep the adult and young males until quiet should be restored, when they were to be (at the pleasure of the commandants) released or else distributed among the poorest settlers as servants, without hire, for a term of years. The ammunition was to be "frugally used, not wasted, nor unnecessarily expended," as a satisfactory account would be demanded of the quantity expended. This latter injunction, repeated on subsequent occasions, in some measure explains the reason of the peculiarly cruel mode of slaughter, to be hereafter mentioned, which, according to Mr. Maynier, was occasionally adopted by the boors. The instructions to the commander-in-chief concluded with the following sentence:—"Trusting now that all will be managed by you discretely, according to the duty of an upright and honourable man, the authority of the government maintained, and the best interests of the colony and of the inhabitants duly consulted, we will recommend you to the protection of the Almighty, and remain your good friends."\* It would be out of place to do more than notice in passing the shocking impiety of commending to the protection of a just and merciful Being, men about to engage in establishing wrong and robbery by murder. The commando fulfilled its direful mission, drove out the rightful possessors of the soil, and the three companies, comprising in all 150 men, succeeded in surprising the natives, and firing upon them, killing 513, and capturing 241, with the loss on their own side of only one man. This and subsequent commandoes were

too evidently not battles but *battues*. Van der Merwe, one of the field-corporals, was charged by a burger named Schombie of having needlessly destroyed women and children, in the great commando of 1774; in proof of which the accused stated that having requested Van der Merwe to give over to him a wounded girl that she might be cured, he had refused, and caused both her and a little infant at the breast, who was also wounded, to be shot. Van der Merwe stated, in his defence, that he had not wantonly taken the lives of females and defenceless children, but that "a few who were mortally wounded, and who thus must necessarily have suffered a painful death on the field, had on that occasion been dispatched, in order that their death might not be still crueller."† The result of the investigation was that Van der Merwe was declared to have done his duty, and to prevent "the zeal and public spirit of the field-corporals from being damped, Schombie was sharply reprimanded, and fined for having brought forward what the board thought fit to call an 'unfounded charge.'" The children saved from the commandoes were registered as servants, or rather slaves, to such of the colonists as desired it, for the term of twenty-five years, and at the expiration of that period few had the courage or ability to claim their freedom; and even against this alternative their masters generally provided by tempting them to receive spirituous liquors, tobacco, and other articles, at the price of a renewed term of servitude, when the first should have expired.

This circumstance doubtless had weight in inducing expeditions from which much was to be gained, and little to be hazarded. They became so frequent, that in 1775, field-corporal Joubert applied to the council to excuse his men from their burger duties for that year, because their horses were tired with constant commandoes. The details of these are all nearly similar; some a little more, some a little less cruel, and more or less sanguinary according as the boors surprised them in larger or smaller numbers, for they never attempted to attack them in open warfare, and thus endanger their own lives; but having tracked them to their homes, in rocky caves or amid sheltering bushes, they waited till the dawn of day to surprise them, while yet sleeping, and pour in on them volley after volley until all was dross and Militia Officers. Stellenbosch. June, 1775.

\* Record, pp. 29, 30.

† Extracts from Records of the Board of Land-

still, save the greans of the wounded and the dying—then they entered, and counted at leisure their twenties or fifties slain so valiantly. Thus, field-corporal Jaarsveld, in a report of his proceedings, addressed to Commandant Opperman, relates how, having in August, 1775, started on a commando comprising in all about seventy persons, he had encountered a small party of Bushmen, and had made them presents, and assured them on the part of himself and his companions, of their peaceful intentions, the better to get them and the rest of the robbers into his power. The Bushmen, however, suspected the snare, and fled during the night, but the Dutch succeeded in tracing them to a place where lay the bodies of some sea-cows (hippopotami), which they had slain, on purpose to entice them. Here they surprised the sleeping natives; fired on them in the dark, and, “on searching, found 122 dead, and five escaped, who saved their lives by swimming through the sea-cow pool.” Shortly after this the same commando “surrounded another kraal (or assemblage of natives) and fired upon it, when not one of the thieves escaped, but fifteen fell upon the spot, and eight little ones were taken; two days later, after murdering in cold blood two Bushmen, who refused to point out the hiding-places of their tribe, they proceeded at night-fall to some caves, where a larger party had been followed by the Dutch spies, and, says the field-corporal, “in the morning we fired upon them in their caverns, so that not a single one escaped. On counting the dead we found forty-four, and took seven little ones.” Those poor “little ones,” at the close of the commando, which was soon afterwards brought to a conclusion by the “want of food and lead,” were as usual divided as spoil, and entrusted to the tender mercies of the ruthless murderers of their parents.

At the period now referred to, Dr. Sparrman, an intelligent naturalist, was engaged in traversing the colony. He remained there four years, from 1772 to 1776, and on returning to Europe, made public a fearful picture of the state of society; describing the government as cruel and tyrannical,\* and the boors as leading most immoral and sensual lives, being very ignorant and very wealthy, treating their slaves and Hotten-

tot servants with extreme barbarity, but evincing ever the one redeeming trait of hospitality to strangers. The following passages express his opinion of their behaviour towards the Bushmen, and the spirit in which they formed commandoes against them:—

“The capture of slaves from among this race of men is by no means a difficult matter, and is effected in the following manner. Several farmers that are in want of servants, join together and take a journey to that part of the country where the Boshies-men live. They endeavour to spy out where the wild Boshies-men have their haunts. This is best discovered by the smoke of their fires. They are found in societies, from ten to fifty and a hundred, reckoning great and small together. Notwithstanding this, the farmers will venture on a dark night to set upon them with six or eight people, which they contrive to do by previously stationing themselves at some distance round about the kraal. They then give the alarm, by firing a gun or two. By this means there is such a consternation spread over the whole body of these savages, that it is only the most bold and intelligent among them who have the courage to break through the circle and steal off. These the captors are glad enough to get rid of at so easy a rate; those that are stupid, timorous, and struck with amazement, and who in consequence of this stupor, allow themselves to be taken and carried into bondage, answering their purpose much better.”

After describing the manner in which the kidnapped Bushmen are treated, Sparrman proceeds to show how the wild man of the woods, even though in some instances well fed and gently treated, sensibly feeling the want of his liberty,—

“Generally endeavours to regain it by making his escape, but what is really a subject for wonder is, that when one of these poor devils runs away from his service, or more properly, bondage, he never takes with him anything that does not belong to him. This is an instance of moderation in the savages towards their tyrants, which is universally attested, and, at the same time, praised and admired by the colonists themselves. \* \* \* None of this species of Hottentots are much given to violence or revenge. \* \* \* Some live in small societies peaceably and quietly, in desert tracts where the colonists cannot easily come at them, and are sometimes in possession of a few cows. \* \* \* The slave business—that violent outrage against the natural rights of mankind, which is always in itself a crime, and leads to all manner of misdemeanours and wickedness—is exercised by the colonists with a cruelty towards the nation of Boshies-men, which merits the abhorrence of every one; though I have been told that they pique themselves upon it; and not only is the capture of the Hottentots considered by them merely as a party of pleasure, but in cold blood they destroy the bands which nature has knit between husband and wife, and between

\* Sparrman speaks with horror of the gallows, with above half-a-score wheels placed around it, but adds that the gallows itself, though the largest he had ever seen, “was by no means too large for the purpose of

a tyrannical government, who, in so small a town as the Cape, could find seven victims to be hanged in chains.”—*Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*; published in 1786: vol. i., p. 53.



parents and their children. Not content, for instance, with having torn an unhappy woman from the embraces of her husband—her only protection and comfort—they endeavour all they can, and that chiefly at night, to deprive her likewise of her infants; for it has been observed that the mothers can seldom persuade themselves to flee from their tender offspring. \* \* \* This amiable tenderness is the very circumstance laid hold on by their persecutors to rivet the chains of the wretched female so much the faster. There are some mothers, however, that set themselves free, when they have lost all hopes of saving their children. \* \* \* They sometimes keep secretly about the neighbourhood. \* \* \* They wander up and down, less in fear of the wild beasts than of the colonists, and perhaps, in the end, fall a prey to some of those ferocious animals, or not unfrequently perish with hunger; for as soon as they have eloped, men are set to lie in ambush by the rivers' sides, which it is supposed they must pass in their way, and by this means they are often retaken. And though they should reach their own homes in safety, they may even then very possibly happen to be laid hold on by some peasant and carried into slavery."—Vol. i., p. 202, *et sequitur*.

"Does a colonist at any time get sight of a Boshies-man, he takes fire immediately, and spirits up his horse and dogs, in order to hunt him, with more ardour and fury than he would a wolf or any other wild beast. On an open plain a few colonists on horseback are always sure to get the better of the greatest number of Boshies-men that can be brought together, as the former always keep at a distance of about 100 or 150 paces (just as they find it convenient), and charging their heavy fire-arms with a very large kind of shot, jump off their horses and rest their pieces in their usual manner, on their ramrods, in order that they may shoot with the greater certainty, so that balls discharged by them will sometimes go through the bodies of six, seven, or eight of the enemy at a time, especially as these latter know no better than to keep close together in a body. It is true, on the other hand, that the Boshies-men can shoot their arrows to the distance of two or three hundred paces, but with a very uncertain aim, as the arrow must necessarily first make a curve in the air; and should it, even at that distance, chance to hit any of the farmers, it is not able to go through his hat, or his ordinary linen or coarse woollen coat. \* \* \* Government, indeed, has no other part in the cruelties exercised by its subjects, than that of taking no cognizance of them; but on this point it has certainly been too remiss in leaving a whole nation to the mercy of every individual peasant, or, in fact, of every one who chooses to invade their land; as of such people one might naturally expect that interested views and an unbridled spirit of revenge should prevail over the dictates of prudence and humanity. I am far from accusing all the colonists of having a hand in these and other cruelties, which are too frequently committed in this quarter of the globe. While some of them plumed themselves upon them, there were many who, on the contrary, held them in abomination, and feared lest the vengeance of Heaven should, for all these crimes, fall upon their land and their posterity."—Vol. ii., pp. 143-4.

\* Including that of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Barrow, and various missionaries and travellers. The public punishments for slaves were probably still the same as in the time of Kolben, 1706 to 1713, when

The description given by Sparrman, and supported by much corroborative testimony,\* of the barbarities inflicted by the boors on their wretched slaves, might be now passed over in silence, since, praised be God, the foul sin of slavery, in which they originated, is no longer suffered in British dominions. But it is well that men should remember, even in the present day, that the mere circumstances of having been born in a free country, bred in the habits of civilized society, and even baptised in the name of Christ, have not sufficed to preserve others, and will not alone suffice to preserve them—when no longer under the wholesome control of a strong government, or the restraints imposed by the opinions and customs maintained by mutual consent among the citizens of an old country—not only from debasing their bodies by sloth and debauchery, to a level with the brutes that perish, but from rendering their immortal souls fit only for association with fiends and demons. This is strong language, but surely it is justified by statements such as these:—

"I have known (writes Sparrman) some colonists, not only in the heat of passion, but even deliberately and in cool blood, undertake themselves the low office (fit only for the executioner) of not only flaying, for a trifling neglect, both the backs and limbs of their slaves by a peculiar slow lingering method, but likewise, outdoing the very tigers in cruelty, throw pepper and salt over the wounds. \* \* \* Many a time, especially in the mornings and evenings, have I seen in various places unhappy slaves who, with the most dismal cries and lamentations, were suffering the immoderately severe punishments inflicted upon them by their masters; during which they are used, as I was informed, to beg not so much for mercy as for a draught of water: but so long as their blood was still inflamed with the pain and torture, it was said that great care must be taken to avoid allowing them the refreshment of drink of any kind, as experience had shown that in that case they would die in the space of a few hours, and sometimes the very instant after they had drank it. The same thing is said to happen to those who are impaled alive, after having been broken on the wheel, or even without having previously suffered this punishment. This operation is performed by thrusting up the spike along the backbone and the vertebræ of the neck, between the skin and the cuticle, in such a manner that the delinquent is brought into a sitting posture. In this horrid situation, however, they are capable of supporting life for several days, as long as there comes no rain, as in that case the humidity will occasion their sores to mortify, and consequently put an end to their sufferings in a few hours."—Vol. ii., pp. 342, '4.

It is now impossible to form any estimate breaking on the wheel, roasting alive, and the frightful tortures subsequently witnessed by Sparrman, were among the ordinary sentences."—*Vide Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, p. 363.

of the number of Bushmen slain by the colonists throughout the long years during which they made war against them. One man informed Colonel Collins, in 1809, when speaking of the exploits of his younger days, that the parties under his orders had either killed or taken 3,200 of these unfortunate creatures within a period of six years; and another stated that the parties in which he had been engaged had caused the destruction of 2,700. The same writer adds, "they had acted thus in compliance with the instructions of a government, which not only violated all the principles of religion and humanity by the indiscriminate massacre, but even acted in direct opposition to the plainest rules of policy, and of common sense, by depriving the colony of the benefit which might have derived from so useful a people."\* That the government ordered or even desired the extermination of the Bosjesmen, except in consequence of the misrepresentations of the boors, and at their earnest request, does not however appear to have been the case. Sparrman, as we have before seen, with more justice attributes great blame to them for suffering and even sanctioning the atrocities of the colonists, but does not accuse them of originating any. On the contrary, the official records prove that both the Cape and the local authorities did offer various remonstrances, which probably weakness alone prevented from being commands. Thus in March, 1776, the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch, addressed an earnest remonstrance to Field-commandant Opperman, and Field-cornet Van der Berg, urging them to act with somewhat greater moderation, to be less vindictive, to oppose "almost needless commandoes, and to give the necessary orders, that henceforth there may not be so much unnecessary bloodshed."† The degree of attention likely to be paid to this counsel, may be judged from the postscript of an official report from one of the field-cornets, dated a few days later, in which the writer states, with undisguised vexation, "we have only shot twenty-three Bushmen, with three successive commandoes; thus we see that commandoes, according to the times, are now in vain."‡ That they were, however, actively continued, and with murderous effect, is too clearly proved by

the official evidence of Mr. Maynier, who, when examined by the commissioners of inquiry, sent to the Cape by the British government, in 1824, stated that on being appointed Landdrost of Graaf Reynet, in 1792, he "found that regularly every year large commandoes, consisting of 200 or 300 armed boors, had been sent against the Bosjesmen, and learnt by their reports that generally many hundreds of Bosjesmen were killed by them, amongst which number there were perhaps not more than six or ten men escaped (they generally contriving to save themselves by flight), and that the greatest part of the killed comprised helpless women and innocent children. I was also made acquainted with the most horrible atrocities committed on those occasions, such as ordering the Hottentots to dash out against the rocks the brains of infants, too young to be carried off by the farmers, for the purpose to use them as bondsmen, in order to save powder and shot."

The humane Landdrost endeavoured to prevent these commandoes, and establish peaceable relations in their stead; this the boors declared to be impossible, and even lodged a complaint with the government against him, urging that he neglected his duty of extirpating the Bosjesmen.§

It was indeed time, if even a remnant of the miserable people were to be saved, that a stop should be put to such indiscriminate slaughter, for the official returns of the number killed and taken prisoners by commandoes from the Graaf Reynet district alone, during a period of ten years—from 1786 to 1795—were 2,480 killed, and 654 prisoners; the annual average being 244 killed, and sixty-four captured, the proportion of killed to prisoners being four to one. At the close of the period above alluded to, the local government, not from any consideration of humanity, but from the most selfish and cruel expediency, at length made an effort to check, by something stronger than empty threats, the sanguinary proceedings of its subjects, and offered a reward of fifteen rix-dollars for every Bushman, Hottentot, or Bastaard taken alive, purposing to detain the prisoners thus captured, and compel them to labour in iron fetters at the public works for the remainder of their lives. It is true that these unfortunates, hunted to

\* Supplement to the *Relations of a Journey into the Country of the Bosjesman and Caffre People*.

† Extracts from Official Papers, extending from 1769 to 1795, p. 52.

‡ Extracts of Official Papers, extending from 1769 to 1795, p. 54.

§ Parliamentary Papers relative to the Cape; published in 1835: p. 28.



the death, had retaliated by stealing the cattle, and even firing the dwelling of the colonists; but Mr. Maynier expressly declares that "experience has taught us (the Dutch) that the Bosjesmen had never burnt the habitations of the boors until the latter had commenced to set fire to the huts of the former."\*

When the Dutch had well-nigh subjugated the Hottentots, and greatly diminished the power and number of the Bushmen, they commenced a system of robbery of the cattle and aggression on the lands of another and more powerful people, differing very remarkably both from the Hottentot and African negro,† and termed Kafirs, whose country lay to the eastward of the Gamtoos River, this stream being recognized in various proclamations dated 1739, 1770, 1774, and 1778, as the boundary between the colony and Kafirland.‡ The term Kafir, or Caffre (unbeliever), is an Arabic word, said to have been originally applied by the Moorish navigators of the Indian Ocean to the inhabitants of the east coast of Africa, and adopted from them by the Portuguese and other nations. The native name of the more southern Kafir tribes is *Amakosæ*, of which *Kosa* is the singular; their territory is sometimes called *Amakosiua*, and appears to have at one time extended from the Sunday to the Umbashee River, which is about 160 miles east of the Fish River.

The *Amapondæ*, or *Mambookie* Kafirs, dwelt in the territory between the Umbashee River and the Umsimcoolu River, about thirty miles beyond the St. John or Umzimvoobo River. The *Amatembu*, or *Amatymbæ* (*Tambookies*), dwelt to the northward of the *Amakosæ*, near the sources of the Umbashee; from this tribe the *Amakosæ* obtained their wives by purchase. The *Amazoolu* or *Zoolus*, *Vatvals* or *Hollontontes*, inhabited the country to the north and east of the *Amapondæ*, and, probably, far beyond Delagoa Bay. Each tribe lived in a feudal state, with an aristocracy of chiefs, who acknowledged, on extraordinary occasions, the authority of a sovereign or paramount chief. They had numerous petty chiefs presiding over a greater or less number of hamlets or kraals, each containing a dozen, or even two dozen families, who

were ruled patriarchally by their chief, assisted by a council of the elders of the hamlet; they cultivated millet and vegetables, but lived chiefly on the milk of their kine, and on the wild animals of the country. Whatever may be the diversity of idiom among the various tribes included under the general name of Kafir, it is found that when brought together, the natives, even where there is most apparent dissimilarity, after a little time converse fluently with one another. This and other circumstances, tend to prove the common descent from the same branch of the human family of the numerous tribes of the *Amakosæ*, of the *Amapondæ*, of the *Amatembæ* (*Tambookies*), of the *Amazoolu* or *Zoolus*, of the *Beehuanas* or *Siehuauas*, and the *Damaras*, on the west coast, beyond Namaqua land. And in their freedom from idolatry, strict observance of the rite of circumcision, abhorrence of pork, and several of their customs, may be traced a resemblance to the Jewish nation. The supposition of Barrow respecting their origin, is, that they have sprung from some of the wandering Arabs known by the name of *Bedouins*, who having made their way from the north-eastward, gradually traversed the eastern border of Africa. The Kafirs have no records, and little traditional lore, but the investigation and persevering inquiries of the celebrated Van der Kemp, Dr. Philip, the Rev. Mr. Brownlee, the Rev. Stephen Kay, Justus (Mr. Beverley), Mr. G. Thompson, and others, have thrown some light on the manner and date of their occupation of the territory called by their name. The earliest chief in the annals of the *Amakosæ*, named *Thlanga*, appears to have migrated with his followers from the north-east, about the period 1470—1500,§ and settled on the banks of the river *Kei*, whence the Hottentots were driven to the southward and westward. The lineal descendants of *Thlanga* were, in succession, *Goösh*, *Malangana*, *Isikomo*, and *Toguh*. The last named had three sons, *Gondé*, *Tindé*, and *Keitshé*. *Gondé* inherited his father's chieftainship on the *Kei* River, and his brothers removed thence with their herds and followers to the coast, then inhabited by the *Gonaquas*,|| whose kraals extended along the *Buffalo* River up to the very sources of the *Hottentot-Kafir* race, who occupied the country not far from the Cape peninsula. According to native tradition, the *Gonaquas*, when the Europeans first made encroachments into the interior, were a united people under their last chief, named *Quama*: unable

\* Parliamentary Papers, 18th March, 1835; p. 28.

† Barrow.

‡ Aborigines' Protection Committee, 1835; p. 636.

§ *Wrongs of the Caffre Nation*, by Justus; p. 64.

|| The *Gonaquas* appear to have been a mixed

of the Keiskamma River. The Kafirs purchased for a large number of cattle the territory near the sea-shore, between Fish and Sunday Rivers, and occupied the Zuurveld (now Albany). This necessitated the removal of the Gonaquas further inland, and they settled about the Zuurberg and Bruintjes-hoogte, whence they were eventually expelled by the encroachments of the Dutch settlers.

Gondé was succeeded by his eldest son, Tshio, whose younger brother, Mandanka, had been declared by his father independent of Tshio.\* Mandanka removed with his people to the country between the Chumie and Kat Rivers, and afterwards occupied the banks of the Konap, and the district on the Great Fish River, opposite to where Somerset is now placed. Tshio, soon after his accession to power, sent his men to attack the clan of Keitshé, who, being defeated near the mouth of the Kalumna, Krumna, or Kroomie River, retreated to the northward with his horde, and has not since been heard of; this was about 125 years ago. The warrior who on this occasion commanded the forces of Tshio, was created by him a chief, and from him are descended the Congo family, since well known on the British frontier. Tshio was succeeded by his two sons, Galaka or Tgaraka, and Palo (called Pharoah by the colonists), who ruled in amicable conjunction.† On the decease of Palo there was, by mutual consent, a division of the Amakosse Kafirs, and Khahac, his second son, migrated from the Great Kei River with his followers, and settled near the sources of the Keiskamma and Chumie. Palo was succeeded in the Kei territories by his son, Galeka, the father of Khauta, whose heir was Hinza or Hintza, the acknowledged head of all the Amakosse clans. Khahac died, leaving his second son, Zlambie, regent over the tribe until the minority of Gaika (child of Umlao, the rightful heir of Khahac) should be past. Zlambie refused to give up his delegated authority at the request of Gaika, wherefore the onward progress of the Dutch, and unwilling to acknowledge inferiority, they moved eastward, and finding an improving country for their cattle, they continued retreating until the territories of Tzeo, a Kafir chief, were reached. Tzeo was as much disinclined to admit the encroachments of the Gonaquas as the latter were those of the Dutch; contests took place, and after a loss of men and cattle, the wanderers retraced their steps; some settled in the fine plains on both banks of the Great Fish River, and of the Keiskamma; others, still fearing the wrath of Tzeo, proceeded in a northerly direc-

fore the youthful chief declared war against his uncle, and after several rencontres, made him a prisoner. He was, however, afterwards set at large, and settled in the Zuurveld. Gaika being the principal chief near the frontier, was subsequently erroneously treated as the supreme head of all the Kafir tribes—a mistake which has been attended with very unfortunate results. The sons of Gaika, whose names will often appear in the future narrative, were, Sandilli, Macomo, Cheäli or Tyali, &c. Jan Tzatzoe was the fifth chief in descent from Tindé, second son of Toguh; Botman, fifth from Cheon, second son of Malangana. Several tribes were broken up, and became scattered among various clans. The larger ones were subdivided, their numbers and cattle increased; some moved to the northward, others advanced westward into the Zuurveld, and towards the Zwaartkops River, near Algoa Bay.

I have brought this brief notice of the genealogy of the leading chiefs of the southern Kafirs down to the present date, in order that the reader, growing confused as to their identity during the long series of years, when hostilities or at least disputes and border forays between them and the colonists occupy so large a share of the annals of the country, may have some clue to guide him as to the relationships of the Kafir chiefs and clans to each other.

For more than a century after the establishment of the Cape residency, all traffic between the colonists and the Kafirs was studiously interdicted, from a not unfounded fear of the dangerous coalition which the latter might possibly form with the Hottentots and slaves; but licences to hunt elephants "towards the Kafir country" were occasionally granted. In consequence of the murder of some elephant hunters by the Kafirs in 1737, even this was forbidden. The prohibition was shortly afterwards recalled, and the licences granted as before, but trading was still forbidden, under heavy penalties, and the boors were strictly interdicted, where they encountered the Bosjesmen, by whom they were driven westward, until they reached the Atlantic Ocean, where their posterity became known as *Namaquas*, and their territory as *Namaqualand*.—*Parl. Papers*, 18th March, 1835; p. 43.

\* It is necessary to remember that the eldest son of a chief does not necessarily succeed his father, but that more frequently the son of the wife of highest rank is the acknowledged heir—this question being arranged at the time of the marriage.

† This is the general account, but Kay gives a somewhat different version.—*Travels and Researches*, p. 150.



dicted from passing the Gamtoos River, which having formed the boundary between the territory of the Kafirs and Hottentots, was, in the various proclamations referred to in a previous page, adopted by the Dutch as their eastern limit.

The boors, as they grew more numerous and wealthy, became less and less inclined to obey the orders issued at intervals from the Cape; and, elated with their successes over the Hottentots and Bushmen, confidently hoped to find as little difficulty in dealing with the Kafirs. They therefore passed and repassed the Gamtoos River at their pleasure, and in 1770 the commissioners sent from the Cape to fix the boundaries of the Stellenbosch and Zwelendamdorp districts, reported "having found between the Gamtoos and Fish rivers, several families, with large flocks of cattle (some of them several days' journey from the loan places), wandering from one spot to another, and thereby defrauding the revenue of the company, and carrying on an illicit trade with the Caffres (Kafirs), with whom they had opened a direct communication." The council immediately ordered the Landdrost "to oblige every person beyond the Gamtoos River to decamp," and graze their cattle upon or in the vicinity of their own loan farms only, on pain of confiscation. This was easy enough to command, but to enforce was a very different matter, and one far exceeding the ability of the Landdrost.

In 1774, Governor Joachim van Plettenberg, in council, passed a resolution which set forth that covetous persons, notwithstanding rigorous and repeated proclamations to the contrary, having prosecuted a barter with the Kafirs for cattle, and some colonists having passed the boundary of the

colony, and made it their business to wander about "everywhere in the interior" with goods and merchandise, conveyed on waggons, carts, horses, or pack-oxen, thus causing many irregularities; the barter for cattle was again strictly prohibited, and every one was forbidden to settle, or having settled, to remain, beyond the Brintjes-hoogte, or Gamtoos River; or to traverse the interior districts with merchandise or cattle, for barter or sale, under heavy penalties of confiscation of property, fine, &c." The Kafir chiefs on their part took every pains to prevent free intercourse between their people and the Dutch. Lieutenant Paterson, who visited Kafirland in 1779, writes, "the Kafirs are so jealous of the encroachments of the Dutch, that they strictly prohibit individuals from entering their territory; while its remoteness has prevented the States or the Company from considering it as an object of conquest." He found that there were then frequent disputes between the Kafirs and Gonaquas, "originating about cattle, of which both nations are extremely avaricious."\* In the following year open warfare commenced between the Dutch and the Kafirs, in consequence of the disgraceful conduct of two inhabitants named Joshua Joubert and Petrus Hendrik Ferreira, who, together with a number of others, formed a large commando without any authority, killed a great number of Kafirs, carried off their cattle, and divided the spoil.† As may naturally be supposed, the Kafirs retaliated, upon which a great commando was sanctioned by the governor and council, 24th October, 1780, to take the field, and drive them beyond the Fish River, which was declared to be thenceforth the boundary of the colony.

\* *Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria, in 1777, '8, and '9.* London, 1789. Quarto edition; p. 77.

† In the appendix to Mr. Thompson's *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, a sketch of the history of the Amakosæ, or Southern Kafirs, is given, on the authority of Mr. Brownlee, a missionary who resided many years among them, and collated it from their own statements. He says, that the colonists, or squatters, who first located themselves at the Brintjes-hoogte, not daring at first to oppress or expel the Kafirs, as they had done the weaker Hottentots, treated them for some time kindly, and both races occupied the country together and lived in amity, until a barbarous act of perfidy was perpetrated by the boors, who, according to the Kafirs, invited the Amadanka, or Mandanka clan of Kafirs, of whom Jalamba was then chief, to meet them on the west bank of the Great Fish River, for the purpose of holding a *pulaver*, or consultation on some

public matter. The conference took place; the Kafirs were entertained with tobacco, and informed that their Dutch friends had brought them a present of beads; these were spread on some rush mats, and, while the Kafirs were eagerly employed in gathering them up, the boors retired to a little distance, snatched up their loaded guns from the place where they had been lying concealed, and at a signal given by Veld-cornet Botman, poured a murderous volley on the unsuspecting natives. Mingled, as they were, in a heap on the mats, very few escaped the massacre. The residue of the Mandankæ immediately abandoned the banks of the Fish River, and sought refuge in the Zuurveld, with the chief, Congo, and their countrymen of the Tindé tribe, and became the most inveterate in their hostility to the colonists. The Dutch seized 5,200 head of cattle: and the next year Dlodlo, the son of Jalamba, was slain in resisting the aggressors.—Thompson's *Southern Africa*, vol. ii. p. 338.

The Kafirs resisted this aggression by the only means in their power. Having no fire-arms, they could not meet their adversaries in open fight; they could only hope to compel them to quit by maintaining unceasing guerilla warfare; and as both parties contested for the two things most valuable in their sight, land and cattle, desperate border frays were made on either side, under circumstances of greater or less provocation, as the case might be, the conquerors dividing the spoil, and the vanquished consoling themselves with the hope of regaining their own with interest by another struggle.

In 1785 a circumstance occurred which clearly evidenced how little authority or even influence could be exercised over the scattered boors by their own government, and doubtless hastened the formation of the Graaf Reynet district, and a more extended system of surveillance, if not control. On the 2nd of May, the English East India Company's ship *Pigot* put into Algoa Bay (then called Baya a la Goa), on whose shores a few Dutch wanderers had located themselves, nominally under the jurisdiction of the Landdrost of Swellendam. With their permission, above 100 scorbutic English patients were landed and lodged at one of the chief farms. The notification of this event did not reach Swellendam (a distance of only 350 miles) until the 10th of July. Colonel Dalrymple, a distinguished British officer, engineer, and surveyor, who had been a passenger in the *Pigot*, hired a waggon, and was the first to convey the news to the astonished governor and council at Cape Town, who (the old jealousy of the English being stronger than ever), lost no time in establishing a new magistracy, of which the chief object was stated to be "to prevent any foreign power from settling at the Baya a la Goa.\* The newly-appointed Landdrost was specially directed to cultivate peace and amity with the Kafirs, and to recal such of the colonists as should have migrated into Kafirland to the colonial side of the Fish River. The endeavours of the magistrates could, however, but faintly check the evils of the frontier system, which invested the field-commandants (so far as the unfortunate aborigines were concerned), with almost irresponsible power. These commandants, being chosen from the boors, held councils of war, with minds prejudiced

and inflamed, and then proceeded to carry their own resolutions into effect; they were generally averse to pacific measures, and had been long accustomed to acquire cattle from the Kafirs, and slaves from among the Bushmen, under pretence of procuring compensation for their losses. Mr. Maynier, whose testimony with respect to the latter people has been before cited, bears somewhat similar witness regarding the Kafirs, declaring (as do other authorities) that most of the disputes with the frontier tribes might have been peaceably settled if the boors had not always been so eager to form these commandoes, from which they expected to reap considerable advantage. He states most positively his conviction, founded on long experience—

"That the complaints of the boors about depredations from the Kafirs were often altogether unfounded, and always exaggerated; originating from a design to enrich themselves with the cattle they were in the habit of taking from the Kafirs, on the commandoes which they were allowed to conduct under no other control than that of officers appointed from their number, and consequently having the same object in view. \* \* \* I recollect particularly to have witnessed on these journeys, the distribution of cattle taken from the Kafirs by a commando, under the orders of a certain field-commandant, Daniel Kuhn (who had been either a sailor or a private soldier, and after his discharge had intermarried with the family of the Ferreiras), when the number of cattle taken from the Kafirs was computed to be 30,000 head."—Parliamentary Papers, 18th March, 1835; pp. 27, 29.

Mr. Maynier added, that he had had frequent opportunities of observing the effect of conciliatory measures, with both Kafirs and Bushmen, and had found them invariably successful. The different Kafir chiefs and tribes generally evinced every disposition to maintain peace with the colonists. In most instances the quiet of the colony was disturbed by the acts of one or other of the colonists.

The best proof of the willingness of the Kafirs to preserve peaceable relations with the Dutch, is furnished by the fact that these latter, when in open revolt against the government for checking their lawless and barbarous proceedings, scrupled not to take refuge among the very people on whom they had been with difficulty prevented from making war. Moreover, Europeans in small parties did not fear to enter their territories, for we find that a report having reached the Cape that some persons belonging to the unfortunate *Grosvenor*, wrecked in 1782, still survived, an enterprising colonist named Van Recnen, actuated by the

\* *Cape of Good Hope*, by J. C. Chase. Edited by J. S. Christophers. London, 1843: p. 58.



noblest motives of humanity, volunteered to go in search of them. Although unsuccessful in the object of his visit, Van Reenen made a very singular discovery, namely, that among the Kafirs were scattered "descendants from whites; some, too, from slaves of mixed colour, and natives of the East Indies,\* who had formed the survivors of the crew of a vessel cast ashore at the mouth of the Lauwambaz, a small river to the eastward of the Umzimvoobo. In 1790 three old women still lived, and though sunk in the manners and habits of barbarism, they received Van Reenen gladly, and would have accepted his offer of taking them to the colony, but that they desired to remain with their children and grand-children till harvest-time, to gather in their crops, "after which, with their whole race, to the amount of 400, they would be happy to depart from their present settlement."† Van Reenen adds that, "they had very extensive and handsome gardens, planted with Kafir corn, maize, sugar-canes, plantains, potatoes, black beans, and many other things." The sweet potatoe referred to in the above extract, was probably introduced by the immigrants, for this tribe (at least, until very recently,) alone cultivated this vegetable; they are, moreover, distinguished by using fish as an article of food, although it is generally rejected by the Kafir race.

In 1793 a treaty was entered into between the border colonists and the Kafirs, and in a report made by Mr. Maynier to the Cape authorities, on the best means of preserving peace, he strongly enforces the necessity of checking the predatory incursions of the farmers, and not allowing them to enter Kafirland, either to shoot elephants, or on any other pretext, without special permission. The government, however, were too weak to support him in re-

\* Van Reenen's Journal, November 4th, 1790.

† The Rev. Stephen Kay, who visited this part of the country in 1830, obtained from a chief named Daapa, an interesting account of his mother, one of the "three old women" discovered so unexpectedly by Van Reenen, domesticated in the heart of Kafirland. He (Daapa) repeatedly asserted that she was as white as Kay and his European companions, and his statement was confirmed by several other natives who had known her well. Her hair, they said, was at first long and black, but before she died (which was in extreme age) it became quite white. Whatever might have been her original name, Quma was the only one by which she was here remembered. She had been taken to wife by a principal chief, who, being greatly attached to her, made her head of his household. At his death, which was very shortly

straining the turbulent boors, who persisted in proceeding without his sanction (as Landdrost) on commandoes against the Kafirs, and daily shewed themselves more inclined to defy all control. At length they compelled him to depart, and organized a popular government, electing from among themselves a president and secretary who could hardly read and write, and holding meetings in avowed imitation of the revolutionary assemblies of France.‡ A commission of some members of the government came from Cape Town to endeavour to restore order, but after the first interview with the ringleaders, gave up the attempt as hopeless, and returned, leaving the boors to pursue their mad career unchecked. The excitement spread rapidly from Graaf Rynnet to the other districts, and the rebel boors, assuming the title of "Nationals," deposed the Landdrost and secretary at Swellendam. A stronger power than that of the Dutch East India Company, was however, about to become supreme in South Africa.

Soon after the separation of the northern colonies of America from England, in 1782, the attention of English statesmen was directed to the growing importance of the British territories in Hindostan, and to the necessity of raising in the east a dominion and maritime power as an equivalent for that which had been lost in the west. A glance at the map of the world was sufficient to demonstrate that the Cape of Good Hope was not only a "half-way house," for vessels in their voyages between Europe and Asia, but that from its peculiar geographical position, it was, in fact, a military and naval key to the British possessions eastward of the Cape, including the colony recently formed in Australia. Holland, even before the breaking out of the French revolution, in 1793, had been a declining power after their marriage, his brother, contrary to one of the most stringent laws of Kafirland, insisted upon marrying "the white woman," whose popularity appears to have reconciled the whole clan to this step. By her he had many children, five of whom lived to years of maturity; to one, who in 1830 was still living, was given the name of Bess, an evident abbreviation of Betsy, which, in all probability, was the original name of one of the shipwrecked party, if not of the mother herself. One of the daughters of Bess married Dushani, the eldest son of the celebrated Zlambie, so that the descendants of Quma and her companions are now probably scattered over a very considerable extent of country.—*Vide Researches in Caffraria*, pp. 353 to 362.

‡ Lichtenstein's *Travels in Southern Africa*, during the years 1803-6. Vol. i. p. 372.

power; the Cape of Good Hope was a drain on its finances, and ideas were entertained either of ceding it to England, or making it a free port open to all nations, under the guarantee of the leading powers of Europe. When the spread of revolutionary principles compelled the Prince of Orange to retire from Holland, and it became evident that France was not only aiming at becoming an important naval power, but also at the extension of her territorial dominion and influence in India and the eastern hemisphere, where her fleets had become equal, if not superior to those of England; the occupation of the Cape of Good Hope was a matter of great importance to the latter power, lest that settlement should become the prize of the ruling authorities of France, and their allies and supporters in Holland. A military and naval force was therefore dispatched from England, with letters from the Prince of Orange, then in London, to take possession of the colony in the name of his royal highness.

The Cape people or Capians, as they were sometimes called, imbued with revolutionary views, and misled by the false reports of some emissaries sent for that purpose, were only awaiting the expected arrival of a French force to depose the existing authorities, and hoist the tricolor flag and "cap of liberty." The few officers of government attached to the cause of the Stadtholder, were unable to control the popular will; and the weakness of the government favoured the views of the disorderly citizens, who were clamorous to declare themselves, by some public act, a free and independent republic. "They prepared," says Barrow, "to plant a tree of liberty, and establish a convention, whose first object was to make out proscribed lists of those who were either to suffer death by the new-fashioned mode of the guillotine, which they had taken care to provide for the purpose, or to be banished the colony. It is almost needless to state that the persons so marked out to be the victims of an unruly rabble were the only worthy people in the settlement, and most of them members of government."\*

The adult male slaves, who bore the proportion of five to one to the white men, having heard their masters descant on the blessings of liberty and equality, and the inalienable rights of man, naturally desired to participate in these advantages, and held

\* *Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. ii. p. 165.

their meetings to decide on the fate of their owners when the day of emancipation should appear, which they were encouraged to hope could not be very distant. The timely arrival of the British fleet saved the colony from anarchy and bloodshed. The governor called a council to deliberate as to the course to be pursued in this emergency; some were inclined to place the settlement under the protection of the British flag, but the governor and a majority voted for resistance. The militia or burgher cavalry, whose numbers on paper were estimated by thousands, were called out in aid of the regular troops, and a few hundreds reluctantly obeyed the summons; but the self-styled "Nationals" refused to assist in the defence of Cape Town, declaring themselves alike independent of the Dutch company and of the English. The advocates of liberty and equality then proceeded to disperse the mission settlement at Bavian's Kloof, and to issue a proclamation containing the following resolutions, to which they obtained nearly 3,000 signatures, compelling many to affix their names without allowing them time to read it:—

"We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots; for, as there are many Christians who receive no instruction, it is not proper that the Hottentots should be taught; but they must remain in the same state they were before.

"Hottentots born on the estate of a farmer must live there and serve him until they are twenty-five years old, before they receive any wages.

"All Bosjesmen or wild Hottentots, caught by us, must remain slaves for life."

Meanwhile the British forces, consisting of the 78th Regiment, some marines, and two battalions of seamen, amounting in all to 1,600 men, led by Sir James Craig, landed under the orders of Sir Alured Clarke, protected by the fire from the shipping, which soon cleared the important pass called Muysenberg; the regular troops then retreated to Wynberg, an elevated tongue of land projecting from the east side of Table Mountain, and about eight miles from Cape Town. A Hottentot corps did some damage to the advancing party from behind the rocks where they were ensconced; but these were soon dislodged, and fell back on the main body; whereupon the burgher cavalry made a precipitate retreat to their respective homes. The sailors, having with much tact and alacrity drawn up some guns, they were



brought to bear upon the Dutch camp, and the Hollanders soon retreated within their lines; the English encamped on the spot from whence they had fled, and the fleet entered Table Bay. Perceiving it hopeless to attempt further resistance, a flag of truce was sent by the Dutch during the night; the terms of capitulation were settled on the ensuing day, and the British troops marched into Cape Town. Most of the members of the Dutch government who were well affected towards the Prince of Orange, and had conducted themselves with propriety, were continued in office,\* those only being dismissed whose behaviour had been decidedly revolutionary; the missionaries were reinstated at Bavian's Kloof (afterwards called Genandendal), as also several of the Hottentots who had been summoned from the settlement to assist in the defence of the Cape, and had taken an active part in the late engagement.†

When these proceedings became known in England, the question arose under what tenure the new acquisition should be held? little doubt being at that time entertained either by her majesty's ministers or the public that at a general peace the settlement would be made over in perpetuity to England, as it was evident that Holland having lost one resource after another, was no longer able to hold an independent position of the Cape, being "neither rich enough to maintain its establishments, nor strong enough to govern its people."‡ It was doubted whether the charters of the English East India Company gave them a claim to the territorial possession of the Cape, or whether it should be considered as a foreign dependency of the Crown, and subjected to the same regulations as the other colonies. Until these points should be decided, it was judged advisable that the possession should be treated as dependent on the Crown, and its affairs administered by the executive power, as constitutionally responsible to parliament; but that the rights and privileges of the East India Company should be carefully preserved, and the advantage of supplying the Cape with Indian and Chinese goods exclusively conferred on them.

In May, 1797, the Earl of Macartney, a scholar of good repute, who had filled with credit several diplomatic positions, was sent out as governor; his lordship

was accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Barrow (as private secretary), whose *Travels in South Africa*, first published in 1806, mainly contributed to diffuse a just idea of the actual condition, value, and capabilities of the colony. No small amount of administrative ability was needed, of judgment, firmness, and sound policy, to cope with the disorganized, seditious spirit, then rampant at the Cape. The settlement had been in the undisturbed possession of the Dutch for nearly a century and-a-half; it comprised four large districts, named the Cape, Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, Swellendam, and Graaf Reynet; was supposed to extend about 580 miles in length, by 315 in breadth, and to contain an area of 120,000 square miles; yet so little pains had been taken to ascertain even its physical conformation, that there was not a survey of a single bay whose accuracy could be depended upon (with the exception of a recent one of Table Bay), or a map, that took in a tenth part of the extent of the colony. So extraordinary was the ignorance that prevailed among the inhabitants, that few knew even the direction of Graaf Reynet, and still fewer could form any estimate of its distance from Cape Town. It was called a month's journey, or so many hours with an ox-waggon (then and now the ordinary mode of travelling in South Africa, camels having strangely enough never been introduced). Sir James Craig, who had held the chief command during the interval between the taking of the Cape and the arrival of the Earl of Macartney, roughly calculated it at 800 miles, which proved to be 300 too many.

Equally exaggerated notions prevailed with respect to the number of the inhabitants, it being currently reported that the three country districts could raise a militia of cavalry to the amount of from 15,000 to 20,000 men, when, in fact, the white population of the whole settlement scarcely exceeded 20,000.§ The monetary system was in a wretched state, and a large irredeemable and irresponsible paper currency had contributed to induce almost total bankruptcy.

While personally examining into the causes, and striving to rectify these evils at the Cape, Lord Macartney strongly felt the necessity of obtaining accurate informa-

\* Barrow, vol. ii., p. 164.

† *Missions of the United Brethren*, p. 390.

‡ Earl of Macartney's letter to Mr. Dundas, then prime minister, October, 1797.

§ Barrow, vol. i., p. 2.

tion concerning the state of the distant parts of his government and the frontier tribes; for this purpose, as also to reinstate the Landdrost and clergyman who had been driven out by the boors of Graaf Reynet, he despatched thither Mr. Barrow, and a detachment of soldiers. The clergyman, however, terrified or disgusted with the treatment he had met with, positively refused to return; and the Landdrost reluctantly consented again to place himself among a people who had more than once threatened to take his life.

Mr. Barrow so far succeeded in his mission, that awed by his military escort, many of the boors submitted to the reinstatement of the expelled Landdrost; but some, disgusted at the restraints likely to be enforced, instead of merely commanded, fled to Kafirland, under pretence of refusing to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, from a feeling of fidelity to the rulers against whom they had been so lately in avowed rebellion. Two of the most turbulent among them, named Pisani and Delport, were transported to Holland, where they represented themselves as martyrs to their patriotic principles. The internal state of the Kafirs was also extremely disturbed, war having broken out among them about the time of the taking of the Cape by the English, in consequence of a quarrel between the young chief, Gaika, the son of Umlao, and his uncle Zlambie, who, during his minority (as previously stated, p. 26), had been his appointed guardian. The cause of the quarrel is said to have been the refusal of Zlambie to resign the reins of government into Gaika's hands, upon the latter attaining the fit age; in consequence of which, Gaika resorted to arms, supported by his mother, Palo and his adherents, and some other chiefs; while the sons of Khauta, and his brother Jaluhsa, adhered to Zlambie, and took possession of their former territories on the southern side of the Great Fish River, whence the colonists were too weak to expel them. At this critical juncture Conrad Buys, a fugitive colonist, fled to Kafirland, was well received by Gaika, and contracted (according to Lichtenstein\*) a sort of a marriage with his mother. Zlambie was conquered and fell into the power of Gaika, who detained him prisoner for two years, at the expiration of which time he suffered him to

return to his people. Hintza, the younger son and heir of Khauta, was carried away during the night by some of his late father's retainers, and two of his brothers likewise escaped with life; but the others were put to death, and one, who was somewhat deformed, Gaika slew with his own hands.

Zlambie was in the custody of Gaika at the time of Mr. Barrow's visit, when he vainly attempted to bring about a reconciliation between the severed clans; Gaika declaring, on the one part, that he had not strength to compel them to quit the colony, and that, moreover, he had not the right, as the chiefs who led them were entirely independent of him; while they, on theirs, received Mr. Barrow courteously, but refused to place themselves within Gaika's territory. They admitted that they were aware of a treaty having been made fixing the Great Fish River as the line of demarcation; but stated that the colonists had, on their part, made no scruple of crossing the boundary, not only to hunt the hippopotamus and other large sorts of game, but had also used the Kafir side of the river as their own—had sown, planted, and driven over their cattle to graze. Indeed not only had the boors entered and used, without leave or licence, the land of the Kafirs; but some of the squatters of Brintjes-hoogte had gone among the peaceful Gonoquas, taken possession of some of the choicest land, laid out the extent that each meant to occupy, planted vines and other fruit-trees, and, says Barrow, "making themselves certain that the avaricious and unjust views of the government would keep pace with their own, joined by twenty or thirty names that they contrived to muster from different parts of the colony, they had the audacity to petition Sir James Craig to grant them, as an indemnification for their losses by the Bosjesmans and Caffres, a small piece of ground on the Kaapna; and that it would still further oblige them, if he could extend it to the Kat River. This small piece of ground is [was] only about five-and-forty miles beyond the present boundary. The daring and impudent falsehoods on which the letter was grounded, were easily seen through by Sir James Craig, and their petition was at once rejected."

Hoping to put a stop to the constant aggression of the colonists, by establishing his statements narrowly, and even then it is sometimes difficult to escape being misled.

\* Lichtenstein gives many details respecting the Kafir history of this period, but it is necessary to sift



limits—not only for the eastern frontier, but for the whole colony—Lord Macartney issued a proclamation in July, 1798, in which it was stated, that—

“—whereas hitherto no exact limits have been marked out, respecting the boundaries between this colony and the Kaffirs; and in consequence of such limits not having been regularly ascertained, several of the inhabitants in the more distant parts of the settlement have united in injuring the peaceful possessors of those countries, and under pretence of bartering cattle with them, reduce the wretched natives to misery and want, which at length compels them to the cruel necessity of having recourse to robbery, and various other irregularities, in order to support life.”

The northern boundaries thenceforth were to be the Great Fish River, the Kaebas, Tarka, Bamboes, and Zuur Mountains, to the Edele Heers beacon on the Zeekoe River; and the Bushmen frontier, the Nienweld Mountains, the Riet and Fish Rivers, behind the Roggeveld Mountains, the Spiou, Kobies-Kouw, and Long Mountains, the north corner of the Kamiesberg, and the Koussie River. These limits the colonists were strictly prohibited from passing. Any colonist found across the boundary, without a government pass, was liable to corporeal punishment and the confiscation of his cattle.\*

However good the intention of this proclamation might have been with respect to the natives, it contained a repetition of the enactment which declared them intruders on the land from which having been first driven by commandoes, they had returned to cultivate and occupy; and confirmed the usurpation of Governor Plettenberg, in 1778. The position of the large number of Kaffirs, hostile to Gaika, was thus rendered anything but an enviable one. At this time they were widely scattered under their respective chiefs, both within and without the stated limits. Some had joined Congo, others had gone towards the Zwaartkops River, still further to the westward; a third division proceeded in a northerly direction towards the Orange River; and on obtaining his liberty, Zlambie established himself in the Zuurveld, now Albany.†

The Earl of Macartney left the colony in 1798, and his departure was the signal for the standard of rebellion being again raised by the turbulent frontier boors, who imagined that with “the old lord” all power to restrain their outrageous behaviour had departed. For this conduct there was no

excuse, inasmuch as they had been treated with great forbearance by the British government; no new taxes had been imposed, and some old ones taken away, or lightened, and a considerable sum of money, in which they were indebted to the treasury, had been freely remitted. Their only grievances were the restraining their lawless wanderings, encroachments, and pillage of the aborigines of the land; and the protection and countenance afforded to the Moravian missionaries, whom they hated for having taught the Hottentots, of whom no less than 600 had assembled at Bavian's Kloof, the use of their liberty and the value of their labour, of which they had long been kept in ignorance. To such a length (according to Barrow) did some of the peasantry carry their hatred, that a party, consisting of about thirty, entered into a conspiracy to murder the three teachers, and seize and force into their service all the young Hottentots that might be found at the place, and they had actually assembled at a neighbouring house, intending to carry their murderous purpose into execution on the Sabbath, when all should be assembled for divine service. A timely warning was conveyed to the missionaries, who forthwith appealed to the British authorities for protection, which was immediately extended, and for a brief period they were enabled to exercise their functions unmolested.—(Vol. i., p. 311.)

While the boors were themselves committing all kinds of depredations and injuries upon the Kaffirs, they strove to imbue them (and more especially the clans within the colonial territory) with fear and aversion to the English. The before-mentioned Conrad Buys is said to have fostered the same feelings in the mind of Gaika and his followers, to whom he represented the English, in most unfavourable terms, stating that the old Dutch company were inhabitants of a large country, and what they possessed in that neighbourhood, was only of the size in comparison to it, that a cattle-fold is compared with a whole farm. Then, taking advantage of the dislike entertained by the Kaffirs to their roving and predatory neighbours, he said that the English were the Bushmen of the Seas, and had taken this cattle-fold from its rightful owners.‡ By these and other statements made by him and several more disaffected colonists and

\* Parliamentary Papers, 18th March, 1835; p. 114.

† Kay's *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, p. 245.

‡ Lichtenstein, vol. i., p. 328.

deserted soldiers or sailors, who had likewise found asylums without the boundary, the Kafirs were influenced against the British; that is, they were induced to extend to them the distrust with which they had long regarded the Dutch. Graaf Reynet soon became a scene of anarchy and disturbance. Even among each other, a witness, generally very favourable to the boors, and strongly prejudiced against the English, describes them as harsh, unforgiving, and so quarrelsome, that "out of ten near neighbours, nine would be at variance," the principal cause of dispute being the boundaries of their respective properties; while so violent were their resentments, that without the check of severe civil regulations, "it seemed inevitable that every generation would go backwards in civilization, and that they would at last sink nearly as low in the scale of human nature as the former savage inhabitants of the country.\* The much needed control imposed by the British they made a desperate effort to shake off. The first avowed act of the revolt of 1798 was an attempt to rescue one of their most turbulent members, Zacharias van Jaarsveld, who had been pronounced guilty by the provincial court of judicature, on the clearest evidence, of having committed a forgery and appropriated some orphan property entrusted to the care of a duly constituted board for managing the effects of minors and orphans. Having failed in this attempt, through the courage of the dragoon in whose charge the prisoner had been placed to be conveyed to the Cape, they sent a threatening message to the Landdrost, informing him that unless he would not only release the prisoner, but also "comply with

all the demands they were about to make, they should in the first place seize upon his person, and either hang him before his own door, or deliver him over to some of the settlers against whom he had on a former occasion been the instruments of obtaining a decree of outlawry, and who were now living among the Kafirs.† A few dragoons being happily stationed at the Drosdy (district town), for the purpose of forwarding despatches to the Cape, the Landdrost was enabled to hold the undisciplined rabble, though ten times the number of his forces, at defiance; and also secretly to convey to the government, intelligence of his position. General Dundas, who had succeeded Lord Macartney as lieutenant-governor, immediately dispatched to his relief Brigadier-general Vandeleur, a squadron of dragoons, a few companies of infantry, and the greater part of the Hottentot corps.‡ The rebels, although collected together in considerable numbers, on learning the approach of the troops, thought proper to disperse at once, leaving in the hands of a neutral person a most humble petition for pardon. The General returned a verbal answer, desiring them to appear before him on a certain day, and voluntarily surrender themselves to his discretion, declaring that all who should fail to present themselves at the place and time appointed, would be considered in the light of traitors, and treated accordingly.

On the day fixed the majority obeyed the summons. General Dundas, selecting nine of the ringleaders, sent them on board H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, then at anchor in Algoa Bay, to be conveyed to the Cape, there to take their trial by their own laws, before their own court of justice,§ and

\* Lichtenstein, p. 369.

† Barrow, vol. i., p. 364.

‡ Towards the close of the first period of Dutch occupation, a number of Hottentots had been assembled near Cape Town; but being neither paid, clothed, nor fed, they exhibited a scene of filth, misery, and wretchedness, which rendered their presence a nuisance, and they were in consequence disbanded. Yet, as we have seen, the Hottentots suddenly collected from Bavian's Kloof, and other places, at the time of the expected attack of the Cape, actually made the only effectual resistance offered to the assailants. Predictions of failure were nevertheless made when the British government undertook the formation of a corps of upwards of 300 Hottentots, but the result was highly satisfactory. Lieutenant-general Sir James Craig declared that "never were people more contented, or more grateful for the treatment they now receive. . . . With the opportunity of knowing them well, I venture to pronounce them an intelligent race of men. All who bear arms exercise well,

and understand immediately and perfectly whatever they are taught to perform. Many of them speak English tolerably well. I do not find they are more given to the vice of drinking than our own people. Of all the qualities," he further observes, "that could be ascribed to a Hottentot, it will be little expected that I should expatiate upon their cleanliness; and yet it is certain that at this moment our Hottentot parade would not suffer in comparison with that of some of our regular regiments." This is but an extract from fuller testimony borne by a distinguished general officer: Mr. Barrow, who records it, says, "it will be no less satisfactory to the reader than gratifying to myself, in thus having an opportunity of adding, in support of my former description of the moral character of this people, the opinion of such high and respectable authority."—Barrow, vol. i., p. 374-5.

§ They were tried, found guilty, and condemned to death, but the sentence was still unexecuted when information arrived of the transfer of the colony back



levied on the rest a certain fine towards defraying the expenses of the expedition, which they had occasioned. Infuriated by the sudden check they had received, the boors, on returning to their homes, unable longer to restrain their savage tempers, wreaked their vengeance on their unoffending Hottentot servants, being especially maddened against them by seeing the orderly and efficient corps of this despised race, well treated, and respected as a valuable ally. The long-continued oppression of nearly a century and-a-half, was now to receive its first reversal; for the Hottentots, inspired perhaps with hope, by the very circumstance that had filled their masters with rage and alarm, fled from the farms, carrying with them such muskets and gunpowder as they could lay hands on. They assembled in large numbers, and commenced making open war upon the colonists; some went among the Kafirs, and incited them to join them, by the story of their sufferings, while others proceeded to ask the protection of the British troops. One large armed party met General Vandeleur, a few days after he had subdued the rebellious boors, and was preparing to leave the district, as he thought, in peace. Their leader, the afterwards celebrated Klaas Stuurman (Nicholas the Helmsman), stepped forward, and confessing that they had been on a plundering expedition, entreated the General to hear their excuse, and forthwith commenced a narrative of the injustice of the boors, who having first deprived them of their country, forced them and their offspring into a state of slavery; and stated, that being no longer able to bear their cruel treatment, they had resolved to apply for redress before the English soldiers should leave the country. Their employers, suspecting their intention, threatened to shoot them if they attempted to escape, or to punish their wives and children in their absence. In proof of what he advanced, Klaas called out a young Hottentot whose thigh had been pierced through by a large musket-ball, but two days before, which had been fired at him by his master for having attempted to leave his service. "This act," continued he, "among many others equally cruel, resolved us at once to collect a sufficient force to deprive the boors of their arms,

to its former rulers, and General Dundas, considering that the pretence of adhering to the mother country had been one reason urged in their defence, left the

in which we have succeeded at every house which has fallen in our way. We have taken their superfluous clothing in lieu of the wages due for our services; but we have stripped none, nor injured the persons of any, though," added he, shaking his head, "we have yet a great deal of our blood to avenge."

The further the troops advanced, the more alarming they found the state of the country; and the representations of Klaas, says Barrow, "were more than confirmed by our own observations." In illustration of numerous instances of cruelty which they witnessed, he records the two following as particularly striking:—

"Stopping at a house to feed our horses, we by accident observed a young Hottentot woman, with a child in her arms, stretched on the ground in a most deplorable condition. She had been cut from head to foot with one of those infernal whips, made from the hide of a rhinoceros or sea-cow, known by the name of *samboes*, in such a barbarous and unmerciful manner, that there was scarcely a spot in her whole body free from stripes; nor had the sides of the little infant, in clinging to its mother, escaped the strokes of the brutal monster. \* \* \* She gradually recovered, and the fellow was suffered to depart, after making her a pecuniary compensation; had the wounds proved mortal [as was for several days expected], the perpetrator would, no doubt, have afforded the first instance of retributive justice for the numberless cases of murder that have been committed with impunity on this unfortunate race of men. The only crime alleged against her, was the attempt to follow her husband, who was among the number of those of his countrymen that had determined to throw themselves upon the protection of the English.

"The next house we halted at upon the road, presented us with a still more horrid instance of brutality. We observed a fine Hottentot boy, about eight years of age, sitting at the corner of the house, with a pair of iron rings clenched upon his legs, of the weight of ten or twelve pounds; and they had remained in one situation for such a length of time, that they appeared to be sunk into the leg, the muscle being tumefied both above and below the rings. The poor creature was so benumbed and oppressed with the weight, that, being unable to walk with ease, he crawled on the ground. It appeared on inquiry, that they had been rivetted to his legs more than ten months ago. What was to be done in a case of such wanton and deliberate cruelty? It was scarcely in human nature to behold an innocent boy forever maimed in so barbarous a manner; and at the same time to look upon the cold-blooded perpetrator without feeling a sentiment of horror, mingled with exasperation. The fellow shrunk from the inquiries of the indignant General; he had nothing to allege against him but that he had been a worthless boy, he had lost him so many sheep; he had slept when he ought to watch the cattle, and such-like frivolous charges of a negative kind, the amount of which,

final decision with the reinstated Dutch authorities, by whom four years' imprisonment was deemed a sufficient punishment.

if true, only proved that his own interest had sometimes been neglected by this child.

"Determined to make an example of the author of such unparalleled brutality, the General ordered him instantly to yoke his oxen to his waggon, and, placing the boy by his side, to drive directly to headquarters. Here he gave orders to the farrier of the 8th regiment of Light Dragoons to strike the irons from the boy, an operation that required great nicety and attention, and to clench them as tight as he could on the legs of his master. \* \* \* For the whole of the first night his lamentations were incessant; with a stentorian voice a thousand times he vociferated, "*Mijn God! is dat een maniere om Christien mensch te handelen?*" ("My God! is this a way to treat Christians?") His, however, were not the agonies of bodily pain, but the bursts of rage and resentment on being put on a level with one, as the boors call them, of the *zwarte natie*, between whom and the *Christien mensch* they conceive the difference to be fully as great as between themselves and their cattle, and whom, indeed, they most commonly honour with the appellation of *zwarte vee*, black cattle. Having roared for three days, and as many nights, at first to the great amusement, but afterwards to the no less annoyance of the whole camp, he was suffered to go about his business, on paying a penalty in money, for the benefit of the boy whom he had abused in so shameful a manner."

Notwithstanding the veneration for "Christien mensch," expressed by the Graaf Reynet boors, their sanguinary dispositions were, in fact, incapable of understanding the value of human blood, no matter the character of those in whose veins it flowed. One illustration of this will suffice, and we may turn from the painful subject. Three fine young men had deserted from the 81st regiment; on their absence being discovered, General Vandeleur desired a farmer named Van Roy to arrest them, if he should have an opportunity, as his sons and people were abundantly sufficient for the purpose. The following day Van Roy appeared, and stated that he had shot the three deserters for the protection of his family. The General rode to the spot immediately, and found the dead bodies lying on the ground; one, at the distance of ten or twelve yards from the house-door, had been shot through the breast; the other two lay at forty or fifty yards' distance, and had both been shot through the back. From these circumstances it was strongly conjectured that the ruthless boor and his sons had waited at the door with their loaded muskets—that on the first being shot, the other two had attempted to escape, by which endeavour they afforded the Dutchmen the opportunity of taking a cool and sure aim. Of this, however, no proof could be obtained, and as desertion had already begun, it was

deemed advisable to let the matter rest. Van Roy escaped the judgment of an earthly tribunal, but was destined, nevertheless, to afford a warning to his fellow-men, of the retributive justice which, even in this world, in so frequent and remarkable a manner overtakes the bloodthirsty and deceitful. In the subsequent wars between the boors and Hottentots, Van Roy was shot through the head in his own house, which was afterwards burnt to the ground, his property plundered and destroyed, and his family reduced to extreme poverty.

The position of General Vandeleur and the British troops was becoming more and more embarrassing, especially with regard to the Hottentots. He had neither the right nor the power to compel them to return to their cruel taskmasters, and although great numbers of them would gladly have enlisted as volunteers, the difficulty would remain of providing for the old people, the women and the children. Klaas Stuurman thought the justice of the case very clear. "Restore," said he, "the country of which our fathers have been despoiled by the Dutch, and we have nothing more to ask. We lived very contentedly before these Dutch plunderers came among us; and why should we not do so again, if left to ourselves? Has not the *Groot Baas* (the Great Master) given plenty of grass-roots, and berries, and grasshoppers, for our use? and, till the Dutch destroyed them, abundance of wild animals to hunt? And will they not return and multiply, when these destroyers are gone?" Klaas, however, and his party, were prevailed upon to deliver up their arms, and follow the troops until some arrangement could be made for their future welfare.

Congo, the Kafir chief, and his followers, as also Zlambie and his adherents, were less easily dealt with. Congo declared that the ground he stood on was his own by inheritance; that, nevertheless, being desirous of remaining in friendship with the English, he would remove eastward in the course of a few days; but that he would not, and could not, cross the Great Fish River, as "there was blood between Gaika and himself."

Meanwhile, such of the rebel boors as had refused to make their submission to Bruintjes-hoogte, had, together with previous fugitives, so stirred up the minds of the Kafirs with false representations of the intentions of the English, as to induce

\* Barrow, vol. i., pp. 396-8.



them to commence a system of guerilla warfare, and even to attack General Vandeleur's camp near the Bushman's River. Numbers were killed in this unsuccessful attempt; but about the same time, Lieutenant Chumney, with a detachment of twenty men of the 81st, returning from the sea-coast to the camp, was surprised by a large party of Kafirs, who fought them hand to hand with the iron part of their assagays, the wooden shaft being previously broken off. The young officer defended himself bravely till sixteen of his party were killed. Then, finding himself mortally wounded, and perceiving that the whole aim of the enemy was against him, he directed the four survivors, and a Dutchman who had accompanied them, to drive off in the waggon, and turning his horse, galloped in a contrary direction, followed by the whole body of Kafirs; thus affording an opportunity for the small remains of his party to escape, of which they availed themselves, and reached the camp in safety, there to bear testimony to the self-possession and the generous devotion of their gallant leader.

While these events were taking place, Barrow, who had been dispatched with about a dozen dragoons to Algoa Bay, found, to his great astonishment, that the whole of the boors, with their families, in number about 150, who had been plundered by the Hottentots, had assembled on an adjoining plain, with their cattle and the remains of their property, and were waiting in order to claim protection against "the heathens." The heathens, that is the Hottentots, on their part made precisely the same request, and they numbered upwards of 500. Each party vowed vengeance against the other, and a contest was with difficulty prevented by Mr. Barrow, who obtained from the *Rattlesnake* twenty armed seamen, and caused a swivel gun to be mounted on a post immediately between the boors and the Hottentots. Thus matters remained for several days, until a report circulated among the latter by the malice of the rebel boors residing with Congo's tribe of Kafirs, to the effect that it was the intention of the English to get them on board ship, and send them to the Cape, so alarmed them, that influenced by this false rumour many of them stole away in the night and joined the Kafirs. The consequence of this proceeding was that all attempts on the part of the English to restore peace were rendered unavailing by the general want of

confidence which prevailed alike between the Europeans themselves and between the different Kafir clans. Before a decided contest commenced between the boors and the Hottentots, part of the troops had returned to the Cape; the remainder, who were about to follow them, were detained and placed at Algoa Bay, where a small military post was established, which formed a nucleus for the peaceably disposed. Some time before these events took place, the celebrated Doctor Van der Kemp had attempted to form a mission station in the territory of Gaika, who at first received him favourably, as did also the Dutch fugitives living under his protection; but when these latter saw his earnest exertions to enforce with unflinching fidelity the necessity of reformation of life as well as of profession; they injured and annoyed him in various ways, shamelessly stealing his money and goods, and so prejudicing the mind of the Kafir chief against him, that they at length compelled his return to the colony. The fate of the men who thus conspired to defeat the endeavours of one, who, notwithstanding some striking eccentricities of deportment and errors of judgment, united to extraordinary abilities, the most childlike singleness of purpose, and almost apostolic zeal, was remarkable. Not one of them died a natural death: "Faber was afterwards hung in the colony as a rebel; Buis wandered about amongst the tribes, murdering and plundering until he himself was murdered. Botha was killed by the Kafirs at the instigation of his companions. The hut in which Bezuidenhoud slept was one night fired by the natives, and he was burnt to death. The Irishman (a deserter connected with the band), together with one of his children, was also burnt to ashes, while asleep, by one of the native women with whom he had lived; and Lochenberg was literally ent to pieces by the Amakwabi about the middle of 1829.\*

On quitting Gaika, Van der Kemp went to Graaf Reynet, to attempt the conversion and civilization of the Hottentots, but was expelled thence by the enraged colonists, who fired several times upon him for daring to put Hottentots and Kafirs on a level with Christians. General Dundas then offered him any piece of ground he might think suitable, on which to form a missionary establishment, and urged him to use his great influence in pacifying Klaas Stuur-

\* Kay's *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*.

man and his followers, who were taking a leading part in the warfare then desolating the country. In this Van der Kemp succeeded; Klaas entirely withdrew from the contest, and bore with equanimity the ill-usage of both parties, neither of whom could appreciate his steadfast sincerity. The united body of Hottentots and Kafirs, after spreading terror through the whole of the Graaf Reynet district,\* and defeating the boors in the Uitenhage district, chased them to the Chamtoos River, and were met at Lochenberg's place by a strong body under the brave Tjaard Van der Walt, who was killed in the contest which ensued.† With him the affrighted boors lost all hope; some crossed the boundary, others fled half-way to Cape Town, until the progress of their pursuers was stopped at the Kayman's River, not far from Mossel Bay, by a body of English combined with the Swellendam settlers, who, although they had at one time shown much disposition to join the disorderly boors of Graaf Reynet, had been won by gentle and judicious treatment to renounce their seditious spirit, and had afterwards cordially co-operated with the British authorities. The truth was, that with the exception of the Graaf Reynet boors, the whole colony had progressed rapidly when released from the harsh restraints and oppressive taxes levied upon them by the now defunct Dutch company. The severity of the law, especially the criminal law, had been greatly relaxed; and the application of torture, the rack, and breaking on the wheel, wholly abolished, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the court of justice at the Cape, who urged that the use of these engines of terror was necessary to prevent the commission of murder, from which bad men would not be deterred by the prospect of being strangled with a cord. Contrary however, to this opinion, instances of capital crime were less frequent under the British government than

in any period of the same duration for the previous thirty years; so much so, indeed, that one of the public executioners made an application for a pension in lieu of the emoluments he had been accustomed to receive for the breaking of legs and arms. Having therefore, had seven years' experience of British rule, during which nearly half-a-million sterling had been annually expended among them by the army, the navy, and the English settlers,‡ the Dutch learned with regret the change to be made in accordance with the terms of the peace of Amiens, by the restoration of the colony to Holland, in March, 1803; and when General Dundas passed along from the castle to the place of embarkation, escorted by Commissary-general de Mist and General Janssens, into whose hands, as representatives of the Batavian government, he had surrendered his authority; the road was lined with spectators, not drawn together to express the boisterous joy usual on such occasions, but rather to take a melancholy farewell of a just and merciful ruler. And such indeed had General Dundas been to them. Lord Macartney, during his brief tenure of office (about a twelvemonth), had taken the initiative in instituting a very different course of policy to any heretofore adopted, by respecting the rights both of the white and coloured races. One enactment of his with regard to the Bushmen, though unfortunately only partly carried out, was so far attended with success that it unquestionably influenced those wild and wandering tribes in remaining at peace during the whole of the hostilities which desolated the frontier in 1799.

The proclamation of July, 1798, after dwelling on the mischiefs produced by the constant hostilities carried on between the inhabitants of the Middle Roggeveld, the Hantam, and Under Bokkeveld districts, with the Bushmen, set forth the advisability of adopting conciliatory measures;

\* The aborigines having attacked a party of boors, the latter fled at once, leaving their wives and wagons in the hands of the enemy, who, "on this, as on all similar occasions," treated them with respect, and despatched a Hottentot after the fugitives, to say that they would restore the prisoners for a certain very trifling ransom. Instead of joyfully accepting the offer, one of them recognising in the messenger a former servant of his own, in an excess of uncontrollable fury, shot him dead on the spot. Intelligence of this atrocious act was speedily conveyed by the companion of the deceased to the Hottentots and Kafirs, but they nobly released their helpless captives notwithstanding, declaring that they disdained to

take away the lives of the innocent, but should soon find an opportunity of revenging this and other murderous acts upon the perpetrators. They likewise suffered English dragoons, travelling alone with despatches, and even a house which they discovered at Plettenberg's Bay to belong to an Englishman, they left undisturbed, though all the rest that fell in their way were burnt to the ground. This very house was afterwards plundered by the same party of boors, who had just before fled from the Hottentots, leaving their wives and little ones in their hands.—Barrow, vol. i., p. 416.

† Philip's *Researches in South Africa*, vol. i., p. 86.

‡ Barrow, vol. i., p. 425.



and as it was well known that the predatory incursions of the latter were chiefly occasioned by hunger, authorized the field-cornets to levy from the inhabitants, as a free contribution, a sufficient number of sheep to satisfy their urgent necessity, and also to provide for their future subsistence by the natural increase of the same.\* The chiefs of the Bushmen were in future to be recognized and distinguished by metal-headed canes and brass gorgets, in the same way as the chiefs and captains of the other Hottentot tribes; encouraged to consider themselves as under the protection of the British government, and allowed to visit the governor at Cape Town, to receive marks of kindness and good will. A sufficient tract of country was to be traced and assigned to them; no expedition was to be fitted out against them, nor any violence committed, unless in actual self-defence; their habitations were not to be molested, nor their children taken from them, or made slaves or servants of on any pretence whatsoever.

General Dundas cordially entered into Lord Macartney's views with regard to the Bushmen, and formed similarly humane and politic plans for the location of the Hottentots. He cordially supported the Moravians at Bavian's Kloof, and, as we have seen, enabled Van der Kemp to establish a place of refuge at Algoa Bay. He had intended granting land to the Hottentots, and endeavouring to induce them by this means, and by presenting them with a few head of cattle and some seed-corn, to become farmers. Thus he trusted gradually to ameliorate their condition, and give them a permanent interest in preserving the peace of the colony, as landed proprietors; while the jealousy which this step might excite in the minds of the colonists would, he believed, be eventually overcome by its justice and sound policy.† The project of General Dundas was unhappily frustrated by the surrender of the Cape to the Dutch; and while the better class of colonists, knowing the weakness of Holland and the poverty of her exchequer, viewed with regret the departure of the English, the missionaries and the natives were inspired with apprehensions of a still more alarming nature.

\* The good effects of this measure, which the Landdrost Stockenström most zealously entered into, were greatly diminished by the insufficiency of the quantity raised, and the thefts of other tribes.

† *Vide* Letters of General Dundas to Mr. Maynier,

Nor did the British government, on its part, relinquish possession of the colony from any doubt of its great importance, since of that there had been recent and convincing proof. The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley), when proceeding to India as governor-general, in 1798, visited the settlement; saw at once the importance of the position, and in a letter dated Cape of Good Hope, 28th of February, 1798, addressed to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville), dwelt forcibly on its high value with reference to the defence of our trade to the East, and of our territories in India. As a *depôt* for the maintenance of a military force in India, his lordship considered the Cape to be invaluable: to an enemy, in this respect, it would furnish every means of pouring in troops, either upon the coast of Coromandel, or of Malabar, in such a state of health as to be able to encounter at once all the inconveniences of a tropical climate; Lord Mornington therefore viewed with serious apprehension the possibility of the Cape being in the occupation of an inimical power. As a naval station he looked upon its possession as still more important, for the following cogent reasons:—‡

“Many ships in the Indian and China trade make the land upon the outward, and all upon the homeward-bound passage. The course of those even which keep farthest to the southward never is more distant from the Cape than two or three degrees of latitude. An enemy's squadron, stationed at the Cape, could not fail to intercept the greater part of our trade to and from the East, without being under the necessity of making any very distant cruises. We should find it impossible to check the operations of such a squadron, unless we could continue to send out with every trading fleet from Europe a convoy of such considerable force as must compel us greatly to increase our present naval establishments. The expense of fitting out such large fleets of ships of war, victualled and stored for the whole voyage to India or China, would be enormous; and here, in my opinion, is the point of the question upon which the whole argument must turn—which would be the heavier expense? to retain the Cape, keeping up a large naval and military establishment here, and using it as an outpost to your Indian empire, or to leave the Cape in the hands of the enemy, and by so doing incur the necessity of increasing to a vast amount the protecting naval force requisite for the defence of your Indian and China trade? The expense of the Cape in our hands, however large, must not be estimated as so much positive loss. There are two points of view in which that loss may be con-

dated January, 1800. Parliamentary Papers, March, 1835; pp. 31 to 35.

‡ See *Wellesley Despatches on British India*, vols. i. to v. Edited by R. Montgomery Martin. Published by Allen & Co. London: 1837.

sidered to be compensated by a proportional diminution of expense in other establishments. The army stationed at the Cape might always be looked upon as a part of the Indian force, and a corresponding saving ought to be made in the expense of your European army in India. Your Indian and China ships might, under proper regulations, be victualled at the Cape at a much cheaper rate than in Europe; consequently their valuable cargoes, both outward and homeward, might be increased in proportion to the smaller quantity of tonnage occupied by their provisions. Instead of taking six months' provisions from Asia or Europe, they need not take more than three, and the vacant tonnage might serve for an augmentation of their cargoes of merchandise. In this view a great advantage would result to the East India Company from the possession of the Cape. The whole of this comparative statement might be reduced to calculation, and it would not be difficult for you at once to estimate the several articles of expense which must be incurred by the public in either event, of retaining the Cape or of abandoning it to France.

"But I doubt whether, with the Cape in the hands of the enemy, it would be possible for you to maintain your Indian trade or empire, unless you could acquire some other settlement on the southern continent of Africa. This I know to be Lord Macartney's opinion; and if this opinion be just, the question of the expense of maintaining the Cape will be materially varied."

The governor-general added, in a postscript,—

"I believe the necessity of retaining Ceylon [which we had recently taken in the name of the Prince of Orange], is now admitted universally: with the Cape in the hands of an enemy, would it be possible to retain Ceylon for any long period of time?"

Practical experience amply confirmed Lord Mornington's opinion of the value of the possession of the Cape to Great Britain as a military depôt. Foreseeing shortly after his arrival in India, that a war with Tippoo Sultan was inevitable, and that Tippoo was intriguing for the support of a French armament, Lord Mornington dispatched orders to Earl Macartney to send immediately Sir David Baird and three regiments, containing upwards of 2,000 men forming a Scotch brigade, to Madras, where the whole number arrived in the highest state of health, in time to lead the assault under Sir David at the capture of Seringapatam, in May, 1799. Again, when the governor-general planned the grand design of an Anglo-Indian army on the plains of Cairo, for the expulsion of Napoleon Buonaparte and the French troops from Egypt, his lordship sent to the Cape to provide an addition to the Indian forces, which were to meet in the valley of the Nile the regiments sent from England *via* the Mediterranean. So also, when Lord Wellesley designed the plans for the cap-

ture of the Isles of France, Bourbon, and Java (subsequently carried into effect by his successor, Lord Minto), the Cape would have furnished its quota of men or material. Notwithstanding these incontestible proofs of its value, the British government, influenced probably by their having taken possession of it in the name of the Prince of Orange, restored the Cape to Holland, who, however, desired it only at the instigation of France, Holland having little influence in adjusting the terms of peace.

Few events of any importance occurred during the second epoch of Dutch ascendancy. General Janssens, on first arriving to assume the reins of government, was joyfully welcomed by the most turbulent of the border farmers, who at once proposed to him that all the Hottentots belonging to Van der Kemp's missionary establishment should be seized; that every individual among them should have a chain put on his legs, and that they should be distributed among them as slaves.\* This scheme met with a decided refusal from the new governor, who, hoping by his presence to restore order and bring about a better state of feeling, determined personally to examine the condition of the country districts. Graaf Reynet, he found, as the English had done before him, the seat of internal and external disturbance and dissension. "The chest of the district was empty," says Lichtenstein, who accompanied General Janssens, "the books of accounts were in the most lamentable disorder, the public buildings were destroyed, and presented nothing but a sad monument of crimes; the most important posts were filled by people wholly ignorant and devoid of capacity;" the former holders having been fairly driven away by the disorderly populace, whose "reciprocal irreconcilable spirit of discord and enmity towards each other, their wholly perverted ideas of right and wrong, their extravagant notions with regard to liberty, their total want of true religious principles though making much external profession of piety, their perfect ignorance, in short, of all the social virtues, had placed them in a most unfortunate situation both for themselves and the government." More than sixty families had emigrated, the Kafirs had re-established themselves in the whole southern part of the district, half the farms were

\* Dr. Philip's *Researches in South Africa*, vol. i., p. 90.



forsaken and destroyed, dearth and murrain had followed, to carry misery to its height. To remedy such complicated and deep-rooted evils, was far beyond the power of any governor; but General Janssens did his utmost, by installing a most efficient Landdrost, in the person of the hitherto secretary of the Swellendam district, named Stockenström; by putting the financial affairs of the colony into a more promising state, and making many excellent arrangements for the local administration. The old and most impolitic regulation affecting all the country districts, by which marriage and baptism could be legally solemnized only at Cape Town, was removed, and these ceremonies were thenceforward to be performed in the presence of the respective Landdrosts. It is only surprising that so unwise a restriction had not been long before repealed, from the manifest hardship and even impropriety of compelling two people to come, for such a purpose, perhaps a month's journey, by the tedious and expensive mode of travelling then practised in the colony, namely, in waggons drawn by a team of oxen. Before leaving the frontier, the governor took great pains to reconcile the differences of the inhabitants, each one of whom assailed him with the bitterest complaints of some other public or private person, and endeavoured to make them understand that they owed their misfortunes to their own perverted views of things, and must act in a very different manner towards the government and towards each other, if they would wish to avoid a renewal of them.\* The district of Graaf Reynet being found too extensive to be included in the same jurisdiction, a new *Drostdy* (Uitenhage) was founded in the neighbourhood of Algoa Bay, which, since the departure of the British, had likewise been the scene of much misery and crime of a very atrocious nature. General Dundas, on leaving the colony, had earnestly entreated Van der Kemp and his companion missionaries to quit Algoa Bay on the withdrawal of the British troops, and remain at Cape Town until the Dutch should take formal possession, and order be restored. This they nobly refused to do, declaring that since, feeble as they were, their presence, and the fear of the testimony they might hereafter bear, was the sole restraint on the conduct of the peasantry to the peaceable and unoffending Hottentots

belonging to the mission-station, they would, if need be, die at their post. And fearful indeed, were the outrages witnessed by them, though their own lives and persons were uninjured. The Hottentots had rallied round Van der Kemp, as the best proof of their desire to remain at peace; but the boers, enraged by their refusal to continue in their service, or assist in massacring their countrymen, not content with placing every obstacle in their way, appear, even at this critical time, to have given vent to their ungovernable passions, by shedding their blood like water. A poor Hottentot, on his way to the small missionary village then established near the Sunday River, called at a boor's house in Langé Kloof, of the name of Van Roy (a relation of the man who shot the three deserters), to ask for a little milk for his wife and child, who were nearly exhausted with hunger. The unfeeling monster seized the man, and bringing a loaded musket, ordered a Hottentot in his service to kill him; upon his reiterated refusal, his exasperated master, seizing the gun, shot him dead upon the spot, and then caused the other Hottentot, with his wife and child, to be murdered!

This, and many other enormities, were made known to Governor Janssens by Van der Kemp; of these an instance, recorded by the governor's private secretary, is one of the most atrocious acts of savage brutality on record.—“As soon as the English had abandoned the Fort at Algoa Bay, a boor named Ferreira, of a Portuguese family, made himself master of it, and kept possession until a detachment of troops were sent thither by the Dutch. Meanwhile the Kafirs, considering that peace had been made between them and the European authorities, and being anxious to preserve it, sent the self-appointed commandant a bullock, to be slain in token of friendship. The Kafir messenger put himself under the guidance of a Hottentot; Ferreira (whether actuated by a vindictive desire to revenge some real or supposed injury, or solely by diabolical hatred towards the coloured race), laid hold of the Kafir and broiled him alive; bound the poor Hottentot to a tree, cut a piece out of his thigh, made him eat it raw, and then released him.”† The difficulty of procuring proof sufficient to convince a colonial jury of that day, of Ferreira's guilt, induced General Janssens, in this and other cases brought

\* Lichtenstein, vol. i., pp. 378, '9.

† Barrow, vol. i., p. 383.

before him at the same time, to take the whole matter upon himself, lest by sending the offenders to Cape Town, they should, instead of receiving a more severe punishment, escape entirely. This, at least, is the reason given by Lichtenstein for the award of so insufficient a penalty as banishment from the immediate scene of his misdeeds, and a command to live under the eye and control of the Landdrost of Swellendam.

General Janssens, though personally well-disposed towards Dr. Van der Kemp, from the circumstance of their having been school-fellows and intimate friends in early life, appears to have been in no small degree prejudiced against the mission, by the fact of its being supported by British funds; neither was he ignorant of the strong feeling of gratitude inspired in the minds of both the Hottentots and their instructors, by the active protection of General Dundas; therefore, while refusing to countenance the persecution of the boors, he gave little support to the mission. As it was necessary they should remove from Fort Frederick, Dr. Van der Kemp requested the governor to grant them another place for their establishment, but could only succeed in obtaining a tract which, from the barrenness of its soil, and the bad quality of the water, was very ill-adapted for the purpose for which it was required. The boors, who had induced General Janssens to select it, subsequently avowed that they had done so, "that the Hottentots might not find any means of subsistence in the vicinity, excepting in the service of the farmers."\* To obviate the objections of the missionaries, they were assured that it was only a temporary arrangement, until a more suitable location should be found; a promise which was not fulfilled.

After the site of the institution had been fixed upon, the governor requested Dr. Van der Kemp to give it a name, remarking that he exceedingly disliked appellations taken from the bible. Pausing a moment, the missionary, remembering that he had preached on the preceding Sabbath from Genesis xxxv., 2, 3, proposed calling it "Bethelsdorp." The governor approved, and the next day, on learning the derivation and meaning of the word, and the advantage taken of his ignorance of the scriptures by his old school-fellow, he readily forgave it, and joined in the laugh thus turned against him.

\* Dr. Philip's *Researches*, vol. i., p. 93.

Governor Janssens also visited the Moravian settlement of Bavian's Kloof, the name of which was, at his suggestion, changed to Genadendal (Grace Vale). He had some intercourse with the Kafirs, belonging both to Zlambie and Gaika, but quite failed in his attempt to reconcile their differences; he likewise made presents, and granted land to Klaas Stuurman, the Hottentot chief, and his brothers, and showed especial kindness to certain of the Bushmen, for whose welfare he would probably have made some permanent provision, but for his hasty recall to the Cape by the rumoured invasion of the English.

On the renewal of war in Europe, which the treaty of Amiens had but temporarily interrupted, the British ministry determined to attempt the capture of the Cape, before it should be strongly reinforced by a French garrison and squadron, then about to proceed from Brest for the purpose, consisting of eleven sail of the line, some frigates and corvettes, under the orders of Admiral Villeaumez, with whom was associated Jerome Bonaparte, commanding the *Veteran*, of 74 guns, invested, it was said, with a commission as commander-in-chief of the French forces and possessions eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. Self-preservation imposed on England the necessity of averting the danger which thus threatened her maritime supremacy and East Indian territories; and with the promptitude, efficiency, and secrecy which marked the brilliant and patriotic administration of Mr. Pitt, an expedition was forthwith organised for the conquest of the Cape of Good Hope, which, though nominally under Dutch authority, might at any moment have been made available by Napoleon Bonaparte, in the prosecution of his gigantic designs against England.

The naval force consisted of the *Diadem*, *Raisable*, and *Belliqueux*, each of 64 guns; *Diomedé*, 50; *Narcissus* and *Leda*, each 32 guns; and several transports under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Home Popham. The land-force comprised the 24th, 38th, 59th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd, and 98th regiments of foot; 20th light dragoons; artillery and engineers, 320; East India Company's recruits, 546; in all 6,651 rank and file. A part of these troops were about proceeding on the tour of regular service for India, and in the East India Company's outward-bound fleet, they were, therefore, immediately applicable for this service without inconvenience. As transports were then always kept in readiness at Cork,



victualled for six months, the troops in the south and west of Ireland were embarked in a few days, destined ostensibly for the Mediterranean, but with sealed orders to be opened in a certain latitude, which directed that they should join his majesty's ships and the East India Company's fleet at Madeira (the appointed rendezvous for the whole naval and military force), and depart thence for the Cape of Good Hope. His majesty's government were informed that the Cape did not contain more than 1,500 to 2,000 regular troops; and those not of the best description; and that the militia and inhabitants generally, looked with anxiety for the arrival of a British force. Whereas the garrison in reality consisted of a strong detachment of Batavian artillery, the 22nd Dutch regiment of the line, a German regiment of Waldecks, and a corps of Hottentots, disciplined to act as light infantry; there were several battalions of colonial militia, and a numerous cavalry, composed of boors, well mounted and armed with long guns, capable of throwing shot to a much greater distance than ordinary muskets. There was also an auxiliary battalion of seamen and marines belonging to the *Atalanta* frigate and *Napoleon* French corvette. The former had been stranded in Table Bay during a heavy gale, and the latter driven on shore in Hout's Bay by H.M.S. *Narcissus*, which had been despatched from Madeira to St. Helena for information respecting the strength of the Dutch garrison, and arrived off the Cape a few days before the remainder of the British fleet. The Dutch could bring into the field twenty-five pieces of cannon. The defences which cover Cape Town had been restored and increased by the English themselves, who found them in an almost ruinous condition in 1795; they comprised a chain of redoubts, connected by a parapet, with banquettes and a dry ditch, extending from the Devil's Berg, a lofty eminence about 800 or 900 yards to the sea. Along the face of the mountain, which advances into the plain, were various enclosed works, and open batteries constructed to flank the approach; the whole mounted with 150 pieces of heavy ordnance and howitzers. The scarped character of the mountains rendered the heights nearly inaccessible, and one battery, with its protecting block house, stood 130 feet above the level of the plain, along which troops must move to attack the lines. Behind these, at the distance of

about a mile, and immediately at the entrance of the town, was the Castle of Good Hope, a regular pentagon, with outworks of sufficient importance to require an assailing force to break ground and attack it regularly. The side of the town towards the bay was covered by heavy batteries. To attack these formidable works, there was a corps of infantry, which amounted only to about 4,000 effective men, and a few pieces of light artillery.

The command was entrusted to Major-general Sir David Baird, who had distinguished himself by his gallantry at the siege of Seringapatam, in May, 1799, and by skill and foresight, as an officer in command of the Anglo-Indian army, sent by the Marquis of Wellesley from India, to co-operate with the British troops for the expulsion of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt.

The instructions of Lord Castlereagh, bearing date, "Downing-street, 25th July, 1805," are full, clear, and precise. The General was directed to summon the garrison to surrender, and then by a vigorous and immediate attack to avail himself of the probable neglect of due vigilance and precaution on the part of the enemy. Too much time was not to be wasted in negotiations with the inhabitants or persons in authority, but such favourable terms of capitulation were to be conceded as might appear best calculated to ensure possession of the place in the most expeditious manner, and with the least loss or hazard to the ships and troops employed on the service. In the event of failure, the expedition was to retire to St. Helena, there to await further orders; and not receiving any, to proceed to Fayal, and thence home. The fleet reached Madeira on the 28th of September, and St. Salvador on the 10th of November, with the loss of the *King George* transport, and the *Britannia* East Indianman, which were wrecked on a low sandy island, called Roccas, surrounded by rocks, and situated in  $3^{\circ} 53'$  S. lat.,  $33^{\circ} 54'$  W. long. The hulls, stores, and cargoes were lost, and Brigadier-general Yorke, commandant of the artillery, was one of the three who perished during the shipwreck. At St. Salvador the troops were landed for review, refreshed, and some small horses procured for the 20th light dragoons. The fleet again put to sea on the 28th of November, and in the afternoon of the 4th of January, 1806, anchored off Table Bay, Cape of Good Hope, beyond the range of the town batteries. The evening

was spent in reconnoitring and taking soundings along the coast, which ought to have been done during the British possession of the settlement. Leopard's Cove, an indent of Table Bay, about sixteen miles to the north-east of Cape Town, was deemed the most favourable and accessible place for effecting a landing, and preparations were made to cover the debarkation by the ships of war. On the ensuing morning the surf was too great to permit the beaching of boats; it was resolved, therefore, to proceed to Saldanha Bay, and march down thence on Cape Town, although the route was seventy miles long, and lay over heavy sand, destitute of water. In conformity with this resolution, Major-general Beresford, with the 20th light dragoons, and 38th regiment, were sent on the evening of the 5th to effect a landing at Saldanha Bay, the remainder of the troops and fleet being under orders to follow them on the ensuing morning. During the night, however, there was a considerable abatement of the violence of the surf, and although the armament was weakened by the departure of the dragoons, and a regiment of 925 rank and file, Sir David, after a brief consultation with Sir Home Popham, who was associated with him as naval commander, resolved to endeavour to effect a landing at Leopard's Cove, without further delay. The Highland brigade, consisting of the 71st, the 72nd, and the 93rd regiments, first made the attempt, and reached the shore in safety, with the exception of one boat containing part of the 93rd regiment, which was upset, and thirty-five men of that corps drowned. Some light troops, placed among the sand-hills and brushwood adjoining the landing, were soon dispersed by Major Graham, of the 93rd, and the disembarkation proceeded without further molestation. By the morning of the 8th, Sir David was enabled to commence his march towards Cape Town with his small force, mustering about 4,000 strong (of course excepting that portion despatched to Saldanha Bay), taking with him four six-pounders and two howitzers, which were dragged through the heavy sand by a detachment of "blue jackets," with their wonted alacrity. No enemy appeared until the troops reached the Bauwe Berg, which forms part of the elevated ridge or chain of hills intersecting the road, about four miles from Leopard's Cove, when it was ascertained that General Janssens, who was well known to be an able and experienced officer,

was in force on the opposite side, with the design of preventing the further progress of the British. The latter were immediately formed into two parallel columns of brigades; the right consisting of the 24th, 59th, and 83rd regiments, under Lieutenant-colonel Baird; the left of the 71st, 92nd, and 93rd, under Brigadier-general Fergusson. On attaining the crest of the Bauwe Berg, after dislodging the enemy's light troops, the Batavian force was seen in battle array on the plain beneath; their infantry formed in two lines, supported by the burgher cavalry, and comprising about 5,000 men (the greater proportion of whom were mounted) and twenty-three pieces of cannon, which immediately opened their fire. The nature of the ground occupied by, and the disposition of the enemy's troops, evinced the intention of reserving their right flank, and with their left attempting to turn the right of the British. Sir David frustrated their design, by deploying his columns into line, and with the right keeping the Dutch cavalry in check, while he threw forward the left, composed of the Highland brigade, which, headed by the gallant Fergusson, marched forward with rapid but steady step, undeterred by volleys of round shot, grape, and musketry. The enemy stood the fire of the advancing brigade without flinching, but fled precipitately at the moment of their impetuous charge, leaving a very considerable number, amounting, it was reported, to about 700 men, killed and wounded on the field.

Had the Batavian artillery been well served, the loss of the British must likewise have been very severe; as it was, one captain, and fourteen rank and file were killed; and three field-officers, one captain, five subalterns, seven sergeants, three drummers, and 170 rank and file, wounded. The want of cavalry prevented pursuit, and enabled the defeated foe to carry away the guns, which had horses attached.

After a short halt on the field thus gallantly won, the victors again advanced; but General Janssens, instead of retiring upon Cape Town, as was expected, took the road towards the mountains of Hottentot's Holland, Stellenbosch, and the interior, with a view of carrying on a protracted warfare until reinforcements should arrive from Holland or France. Among other reasons assigned by the Dutch commander for this line of policy, he states that the Waldeck battalion had retreated at the first on-



slaught, in confusion; that the twenty-second battalion of the grenadiers and riflemen were also retreating, although still attending to orders; and that the French, the dragoons, and the artillery, alone kept the field until ordered to retire. He likewise stated that the useful remnant of his troops was very small, that Cape Town had scarcely any defenders but its own inhabitants, who had sufficient bread\* for only two days, and consequently, could afford him no efficient support; that by retreating into the town, all kind of communication with the country might be immediately cut off, and an unconditional capitulation, by reason of hunger, be inevitable.

Sir D. Baird made no attempt to follow the Dutch general, but judiciously pushed forward for Cape Town. The deep, heavy, dry sand, covered with shrubs, and the total privation of water, together with the extreme fatigue previously undergone, rendered the march most trying to the troops, who with difficulty succeeded in reaching that night a government farming establishment at Riet Valley, where a scanty supply of water was procured, and whither some casks of salt provisions, which had been hauled on shore through the surf, were conveyed by Sir Home Popham and a party of seamen and marines.

The British general, from his previous residence at Cape Town, was well-acquainted with the strength of the works, from which he was scarcely a day's march distant, and was not aware of the scanty force by which they were manned. He also knew the strength of the position of Hottentot's Holland Kloof, occupied by his opponent, and the critical situation in which he might be placed with regard to supplies. No wonder, then, that in after times, Sir David Baird should have frequently declared the night spent at Riet Valley to have been one of the most anxious of his life.† On the following morning the British marched to within a short distance from the lines, and took up a position in the neighbourhood of a narrow inlet of the sea called the Salt River, whereby communication could be kept up with the fleet, on which they were entirely dependent for supplies, where also some additional guns, and a reinforcement of seamen and marines, might be

landed, to aid in the contemplated attack. The inhabitants were not disposed to await an assault; the commandant of Cape Town soon sent a flag of truce to the British head-quarters, and proposed an armistice for forty-eight hours, to give time to negotiate a capitulation. In reply to this overture, Sir D. Baird (feeling that every moment was rendered important by the uncertainty of his communication with the fleet), required possession of the lines or out-works of the town, within six hours; but offered a further suspension of arms for thirty-six hours, to arrange terms. These conditions were acceded to, and Fort de Knokke, the principal work on the lines, was immediately occupied by the 59th regiment. The capitulation was soon arranged; under it the burghers and other inhabitants were confirmed in their rights and privileges; those who had borne arms were allowed to return to their homes; the regular troops in garrison, together with the French seamen and marines, became prisoners of war (such officers as were domesticated in the town having liberty to remain there on *parole*); the paper-money, which formed the principal part of the circulating medium, was to remain current until the pleasure of the British sovereign should be known. Again the standard of England waved over the castle of Good Hope, and our fleet took up the usual anchorage inside the bay. The colonial militia was disarmed, and a corps of Hottentot infantry enrolled (13th January, 1806), to be paid and subsisted on the same footing as other infantry regiments. The civil officers and others in the service of the late Dutch government, and the principal inhabitants of the settlement, were required forthwith to take an oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and a proclamation was issued, announcing to the colonists generally the capture of Cape Town, assuring them of protection, if they demeaned themselves peaceably, reminding them of the uninterrupted prosperity previously experienced under the English administration, and warning them of the horrors and miseries of warfare, to which they would inevitably be exposed by joining or aiding General Jaussens. Simultaneously with these and other measures for the speedy

\* The two preceding wheat harvests had been very scanty, and so great was the consequent scarcity of bread, that each citizen of Cape Town was limited to a certain weekly allowance, according to the number

of his family, and at great entertainments the bread was wholly omitted, or else each guest brought his own with him.—Lichtenstein, vol. ii., p. 121.

† *Life of Sir David Baird*, in two volumes; 1832

and bloodless subjection of the colony, Symond's Town at False Bay, Muysenberg and Wynberg were occupied by our troops; and on the 13th, Brigadier-general Beresford was ordered, with the 59th and 72nd regiments, and a detachment accompanied by four six-pounders and two howitzers, to Stellenbosch, twenty miles from Cape Town, by which means the country was kept open for the supply of provisions.

The Dutch commander, although much respected by the colonists for his bravery and kind-heartedness, soon found himself isolated; his little force (after the dismissal of the country militia and burgher cavalry), of about 1,200 regular troops, and twenty to thirty pieces of cannon, was daily lessened by desertion; and although his position at Hottentot's Holland Kloof was almost impregnable in front, it was assailable on the right by a circuitous route through the Roodezand (red sand) Kloof, and on the left by a force landing from False Bay. On the 11th of January, Sir D. Baird transmitted a letter to General Janssens, pointing out the fatal consequences of a fruitless contest with a superior force, by which misery and ruin would be entailed on the peaceable and well-disposed settlers, and appealing to his known humanity to stop a further effusion of blood, and the desolation of the country. This communication led to an armistice; the Dutch held a council of war, and deputed their general, on the 16th, to meet Brigadier-general Beresford, who demanded a surrender of arms; this was refused, and the leaders separated without coming to terms. Sir D. Baird then proceeded to the camp of Brigadier-general Beresford; the 59th and 72nd regiments were moved to Roodezand Kloof, the 83rd sailed on the 16th for Mossel Bay, to cut off the enemy from approaching Swellendam, and at four a.m., on the 17th, one Scotch regiment, with two pieces of artillery, and a battalion of the 20th dragoons, advanced to the out-posts, pitched their camp, and prepared for the assault. "The bitter draught," says General Janssens, in his despatch to the Dutch government, dated Cape Town, 27th January, 1806, "was now to be drunk, and a letter was forwarded to acquaint the British general, Beresford, that a capitulation would be entered into." Another conference took place between the

hostile commanders, at which Sir D. Baird refused to consent to any change in the conditions which he had originally proposed, and they were finally agreed to. By the second capitulation, the whole colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty; the Batavian troops were to march from their camp, within three days, to Symond's Town (on the shores of False Bay), with guns, arms, and baggage, and the honours of war, retaining their private property, and the officers their swords and horses; but the arms of the troops, and public property of every description, including the cavalry and artillery horses, were to be given up. The troops, who had maintained their fidelity to General Janssens, in consequence of their gallant conduct, were to be sent direct to Holland, at the expense of the British government, without being considered prisoners of war, but under an engagement not to serve against the British sovereign, or his allies, until after landing in their own country. The Hottentots under arms were permitted either to return to their homes, or to enter his majesty's service; and all the inhabitants of the colony were to participate in the terms granted to the inhabitants of Cape Town.\* As soon as the Dutch troops were removed, Sir D. Baird heard of the intended arrival of the French fleet before adverted to (p. 42). By this time the English naval and military force was much reduced, the troops and ships destined for the East Indies having proceeded thither, and the vessels in Table Bay consisting only of the aforesaid *Diadem* and *Diomède*, *Leda* and *Narcissus*, and a few gun-brigs. To meet the expected attack of six or seven large ships of the line, besides lesser vessels, this small fleet took up a defensive position, so that the heavy shore batteries commanding the anchorage might have a clear range for the red-hot shot, while the French would be exposed to a cross and raking fire. In order to prevent a scarcity of food in Cape Town, all duties were repealed on the importation of grain; the "grain commission," which had been entrusted under the Dutch with the duty of storing and preserving corn under arbitrary and ever-changing proclamations of the

\* For fuller particulars as to the capture and subsequent events, see the *Biography of Sir D. Baird*, and the proclamations and orders drawn up by a dis-

tinguished officer, Captain (afterwards Sir James Carmichael) Smyth, of the Royal Engineers, whom Sir D. Baird appointed colonial-secretary.



legislature, was remodelled, and a new law made, providing that the government should receive into store, wheat of a certain quality at sixty rix-dollars per muid, and issue the same at the rate of eighty rix-dollars; such rates to be revised at intervals according to the circumstances of the colony, and the state of agriculture. Many farmers were thus induced to bring forward concealed stores of corn, prices fell, and the fear of famine was dissipated. Thus prepared, the British awaited with confidence the arrival of the French fleet, but Admiral Villeaumez having learned during his voyage the conquest of the settlement, altered his course and sailed for the West Indies.

The next important event in the history of the colony, was the abolition by Great Britain of the slave carrying trade as far as her own territories were concerned. During our former occupation of the Cape, from 1795 to 1802, some cargoes had been imported, although the traffic was then becoming viewed in its true light. Slaves were also landed in 1807, one year after the second capture, and one year previous to the abolition, which took place in 1808, and doubtless influenced the minds and manners of the inhabitants, though at that period no idea was entertained of the emancipation of the slaves then in the colony, whose numbers yearly increased, notwithstanding the diminution occasioned by death and manumission. Various ordinances were enacted by which their social condition was greatly ameliorated, and due provision made for the instruction of their children in the duties of religion. That the same care was not extended to the poor Hottentots, was a great error on the part of the local legislature. Judicious grants of land, of which if fairly distributed and properly cultivated, there was abundance for the agricultural and pastoral wants both of the original proprietors and colonists, might have done much to render the former a contented and valuable class of British subjects. But so far was this from being the case, that while the farms of the settlers varied in extent from 5,000 to 10,000 acres, the aborigine could not obtain a legal title to a single rood. Nor was this all: the disposal of his only property, the labour of his hands, was not under his own control. The old Dutch laws remained in force, and he, his wife, and children, were compelled to labour for a miserable pittance, often withheld from

them on some unjust pretext. The benevolent plans conceived during the former administration appear to have been quite unthought of; and the Hottentots, cruelly disappointed at the treatment they received, declared that the English were no longer the same people as under General Dundas. The boers having made peace with the government, resumed, at least to some extent, their previous oppressive and tyrannical conduct. The remonstrances of the missionaries, and the touching appeals of some Hottentots, who, escaping from the houses of their masters in the dead of night, succeeded in obtaining a hearing from the then governor, the courteous and benevolent Earl of Caledon, induced the sending of Colonel Collins in 1809, as commissioner, to examine into the condition of the country districts, with regard to the coloured races. The result proved most unfortunate to the people whom the visit was designed to benefit. Colonel Collins could not but perceive the necessity of extending legal protection to the Hottentots, but by a strange contradiction he appears to have solicited and followed the advice of those very local authorities—the Landdrost Cuyler and others—who had been long openly accused of oppressing them for their own purposes—as to the most efficient mode of benefiting them. The consequence of his report and suggestions to Lord Caledon was not to loosen their chains, but rather to rivet them more closely, by a proclamation which restricted them to fixed habitations, prohibited them from passing from place to place without a written permission granted for a limited time, failing which they would be liable to be treated as vagabonds or deserters if they attempted to travel about even in search of employment. Therefore, though some of the provisions of this proclamation were good, as for instance those which regulated the terms and period of their service to the farmers, yet so completely were they neutralized by others, and especially by the “law of passes” above referred to, that the practical working of the whole left the Hottentots no option but that of changing one service for another; afforded them no security for any small property they might acquire by their industry, and tacitly forbade their holding land, though it purported to deal with them as a free people.

At this period, one small Hottentot horde still retained its independence. It will be remembered that in 1803, General Janssens,

in consideration of the essential service rendered by Klaas Stuurman, in the pacification of his insurgent countrymen, had allotted to him, his three brothers, and their retainers, a tract of land on the Little Chamtoos or Gamtoos River, in the Uitenhage district. Klaas was killed shortly after by the explosion of his gun while hunting the buffalo, and was succeeded as chief of the kraal by his brother David. The boors, who had from the first objected most strongly to the existence of an independent Hottentot community, however small, watched their proceedings with most jealous scrutiny, and endeavoured by every possible means to have them dispersed and reduced to the same state of servitude as the rest of their nation. They filled the ears of Colonel Collins with calumnies, which he appears to have both received and repeated as truths, without examination; while he would scarcely listen to the testimony of Dr. Van der Kemp and other persons intimately acquainted with the facts of the case. At length the long desired opportunity arrived; two Hottentots belonging to the kraal, having served a farmer for a stipulated period, desired to return home, and on their master (as was too frequently the case) refusing his permission, they departed without it. The boor followed, and demanded them from Stuurman, who declined to deliver them up; he therefore appealed to the nearest field-cornet, who accompanied him the next day at the head of a party of armed colonists to take the fugitives by force. Stuurman, on the approach of this band, drew up his men, and warned the field-cornet that if he attempted to enter his kraal in arms he would fire upon him; and there the matter ended for a time. A report of his contumacious conduct was made to the Landdrost Cuyler, who peremptorily summoned the Hottentot chief to appear before him to answer for his conduct, which the latter, apprehensive probably for his personal safety, refused to do, and thus afforded a pretext for his arrest and the destruction of his kraal, which was effected by a most unworthy stratagem. Aheemrad (member of the Heemraden or Landdrost's council), having acquired Stuurman's confidence, enticed him and some of his most trusty followers into his house, under pretence of needing their assistance to recover some cattle stolen by the Kafirs. They were made prisoners; their families and others of the kraal were distributed by the Landdrost as servants among the neigh-

bouring boors; but some fled into Kafirland, and a few, at the earnest request of Dr. Van der Kemp, were suffered to establish themselves at Bethelsdorp. A grant of the land was solicited and obtained by Cuyler himself, who moreover kept in his own employment, without any legal agreement, four of the children of the Stuurmans, until after the arrival of the commissioners of inquiry, in 1823. The chief, his brother, and two others, were tried at the Cape for resistance to the civil authorities of the district, and condemned to work in irons for life at Robben Island. From thence they escaped some years after, and made their way through the colony (a distance of above 600 miles) into Kafirland. Stuurman earnestly petitioned the Landdrost through Mr. Read, the missionary, to grant him permission to return to his family, but without avail. After waiting three years the unhappy chief ventured into the colony, was discovered, recaptured, and sent prisoner to Cape Town, whence, after having been kept in close confinement until 1823, he was finally transported to New South Wales. His mournful story having been made public by the good and gifted poet, Thomas Pringle, in 1826, attracted the notice of General Bourke, through whose intervention some improvement was made in the condition of poor Stuurman, and in 1831, the Colonial Office sanctioned his return to his native land; but the permission came too late, the banished chief had died in the hospital at Sydney a year before.

About a twelvemonth after the destruction of Stuurman's kraal, a letter written by Mr. Read containing an account of two or three flagrant instances of the barbarous oppression exercised by the boors over the Hottentots, and seriously involving the characters of the Landdrost (Major Cuyler,) and the field-cornet of Uitenhage, was published in England, and produced considerable excitement, which reacted on the colony, and induced Lord Caledon to summon Dr. Van der Kemp and Mr. Read from Bethelsdorp to Cape Town. They laid before him statements of "upwards of 100 murders, with very many cases of maltreatment,"\* and instances of cattle and wages being wrongfully withheld; on hearing which his lordship appointed a special commission to investigate the alleged grievances. Before the time fixed, the chief witness, Dr. Van der

\* *Ibid* Evidence of the Rev. James Read, before the Aborigines Committee of 1836, p. 598.



Kemp, was seized with mortal sickness\* and the Earl of Caledon was succeeded by Sir John Cradock. In Dr. Van der Kemp, the Hottentots sustained an irretrievable loss; his great abilities, uncompromising honesty, and zealous devotion, compelled even his most inveterate enemies to respect him. Soon after his death another proclamation was issued, which gave the farmers a legal right to claim any Hottentot child born upon their premises, on arriving at the age of eight years, as an "apprentice" for ten years longer, with or without the consent of the parents. At first sight this arrangement does not seem so cruel and arbitrary as it actually was, because some such measure might be thought almost necessary to indemnify the colonists for the support allowed to the children during their infancy, besides which the terms of the indentures would appear to have provided for their kind usage and proper instruction. But, with regard to the first of these points, it was well known that the little Hottentots cost the farmers scarcely anything, that they were seldom weaned until two years of age, that they were turned to some useful purpose almost as soon as they could crawl about, and that when residing in the huts of their parents they were chiefly if not wholly supported by them. The apparently stringent

instructions respecting the treatment of the apprentices became little better than a dead letter in most of the country districts, and even the expiration of the fixed time of their service was concealed from them, so that on one pretext or another they were forced or deluded into remaining many years beyond the allotted period. The colonists, with but few exceptions, were, in the words of Commissioner Bigge, "averse to their receiving moral or religious instruction of any kind," and the provincial functionaries being for the most part thoroughly imbued with the same feelings, suffered only a very limited number to join the missionary institutions; and in many cases, but more especially in the district of Uitenhage, continued to harass those institutions with so much interference and oppression as greatly to circumscribe their usefulness. Nevertheless the facts made known by Dr. Van der Kemp and Mr. Read had the good effect of inducing the immediate institution of judicial circuits: these consisted of deputations of members of the supreme court, appointed to proceed annually through the interior districts to investigate all complaints and abuses, and try all offences brought under their cognizance. Being usually composed of persons who shared the predominating colonial feelings in regard to the Hottentot

\* This remarkable man was born in Germany, and educated at Leyden University. He attained an eminent rank among scholars, being able to read and write no less than sixteen different languages; Latin was as familiar to him as his vernacular tongue; and the criticisms he has left behind on the Greek and Hebrew text of the Scriptures, written in Greek and Hebrew, evidence careful study and extraordinary ability. Even when between fifty and sixty years of age, his facility for acquiring languages enabled him, during the few months he spent in Kafirland, to draw up a rough sketch of a Kafir grammar, and form a vocabulary of about eight hundred words. His literary were equalled by his scientific acquirements, and his knowledge of chemistry, natural history, comparative anatomy, and botany, would severally have entitled him to a professorship in any of the universities of Europe.

In early youth he chose the army as a profession, and passed sixteen years in the service of the Prince of Orange, with whom he was on intimate terms. Possessing considerable skill in mathematics, he was regarded as a man likely to improve the military tactics of that period. He had attained the rank of a captain of horse, and high promotion was in his reach, when a personal misunderstanding with the Prince induced him to resign his commission, study medicine in Edinburgh University, take a degree, and establish himself as a physician in his native country, where he speedily obtained a high reputation and extensive practice. All his talents and opportunities had, however, failed to guard him

from the infectious spirit of infidelity then so widely spread over France and Germany; from its delusions he was at length roused, by a sudden and complete bereavement. His wife and child were drowned by the upsetting of a boat, and his own life was by the same occurrence placed in imminent jeopardy. From that time may be dated an entire change in his sentiments and conduct—thus suddenly severed from all earthly ties, the desire to honour his Redeemer and serve his fellow-men by disseminating the doctrines he had long denied, became the ruling motive of his life. An address, published by the London Missionary Society, induced him, when advanced in years, and possessed of a good property, to resign the conveniences of civilized life and the enjoyment of literary leisure, for the arduous and self-denying labours of an African missionary. For thirteen years he never wavered, but through evil report and good report, remained the unwearied teacher, the staunch advocate of a poor and degraded people. One act, which has been much and very unfavourably commented upon, must not here be passed over in silence. Out of his private property he purchased the freedom of seven slaves; one of these, a very young girl, he, by the ceremonial of marriage, was led to make his wife. Dr. Philip, in alluding to the blame so freely lavished upon Dr. Van der Kemp for this procedure, says, that he was actuated by warm sympathy with this unfortunate class, and an earnest desire to elevate their condition; but adds, that he "lived to see and regret his mistake."—*Researches*, vol. i., p. 137.

race, their early verdicts were generally more remarkable for extreme leniency to white delinquents than for accordance with the claims of impartial justice. Most of the cases of murder brought to light by the missionaries had been committed under the former English or Batavian governments, and could not, it was considered, be legally punished; beside which, the Hottentots not being permitted to take an oath, were not allowed to give any evidence at all. Some instances of maltreatment being proved, the perpetrators were fined, and the Hottentots procured a number of cattle and a considerable amount of wages clearly proved to be due to them. Some recent murders were also investigated, and punished with a twelvemonth's imprisonment. One miscreant in the district of Swellendam, found guilty of shooting, in mere wanton wickedness, a Hottentot woman with a child in her arms, was sentenced to kneel down blind-folded, to have a naked sword passed over his neck by the executioner, and be banished the colony, under the penalty of becoming liable to a "severer punishment" if he should return: the latter part of the sentence, being merely intended to save appearances, was not enforced. This and other verdicts\* were subsequently severely commented on by Sir John Cradock, and from that time a great change took place in the proceedings of the county courts, which by their publicity, and the facility they afforded for the reception of complaints from the country districts, thenceforth exercised a very beneficial effect in checking the perpetration of much cruelty.

It was not, however, with regard to the Hottentots alone, that serious faults were committed by the British authorities on re-assuming the reins of government. By a total want of anything like a systematic attempt to form equitable arrangements with the Kafir tribes within and without the colonial boundary, an opportunity was lost which, if wisely used, might have established peace on the most substantial basis, by rendering it the interest of both settlers and natives to maintain it. Certainly it would have been no easy matter to decide how far the claims of the Kafirs to the land included within the limits of the colony by the proclamations of Governors Plettenberg and Macartney were to be recognised, and being

recognised, how they were to be met; but the fact was clear enough that the aforesaid territory had been included without even the pretence of any purchase or permission, real or pretended, willing or compulsory, although the prospect of compensation had been clearly held out to them in 1789, when a special committee was appointed to establish peace with them, and "if necessary, to purchase the claim which they might pretend to have upon the colonists."† The people thus wrongly dispossessed of land which they had occupied the greater part of a century, and a portion of which they had duly purchased from its aboriginal inhabitants (the Ghonaqua-Hottentots), had gradually returned; some had taken by violence the farms of the boors who had before driven them away in a similar manner; others harassed the border colonists by frequent predatory incursions; but a considerable number lived quietly, engaged in cultivating the ground, and herding their flocks; and these, together with another class who had entered the service of the colonists at their request, would gladly have pledged their allegiance to the British crown, had the privileges of British subjects been offered and duly explained to them in return. The chiefs were daily becoming more sensible of the advantages to be gained by civilisation; and entreated that missionaries should be sent for the instruction of their young people. Under these circumstances there is little doubt a large body of Kafirs might, by legalizing their tenure of certain lands, and otherwise by judicious treatment, have been incorporated with, and rendered useful members of the community; others might have been bought out with far less expense than they could be driven out; and the really irreclaimable, when proved such, expelled with the consent of the chief and council of the sub-tribes to which they belonged. With the border tribes arrangements might have been made through the intervention of Hlntza, the acknowledged sovereign or paramount chief of all the Amakosa Kafirs, with whom alone we had then any intercourse, and also of the several minor chiefs and their principal officers or counsellors. Instead of this or any similar line of policy, the local government, influenced by the exaggerated and often unfounded complaints of a certain party among the boors, of whom some had

\* Pringle cites another equally striking case in illustration of the little importance attached to offences committed against the lives and limbs of

coloured people by the settlers.—*Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, p. 255.

† Parl. Papers for 1836, p. 20.



really suffered from the aggressions of marauders, while others simply coveted the exclusive possession of the land—issued a proclamation, in which the Kafirs were described as “irreclaimable, barbarous, and perpetual enemies,” whilst the conduct of the colonists was set forth as unoffending towards “those faithless and unrelenting disturbers of the public peace,” and orders were forthwith issued for the utter expulsion of every Kafir beyond the Fish River. Many years before, Mr. Maynier had greatly increased his unpopularity by forcibly urging the manifest imprudence as well as cruel injustice of making war upon a whole people, and establishing as a permanent boundary to be crossed only at the hazard of life, a fordable river, bordered by dense jungle and deep recesses impenetrable to Europeans, but quite available to the natives as places of refuge and of ambush. He had also stated his conviction that peace might be preserved with the Kafirs “by fair means and with little trouble.” And in 1805, under the Dutch government, Captain Alberti, the Landdrost of Uitenhage, publicly vindicated the Kafirs from the charge of wholesale robbery brought against them by the boors, declaring that though some thefts of cattle had recently been committed, there was nothing to be feared from the bulk of the Kafir nation, the chiefs and the well disposed part thereof having strongly condemned the few plunderers, and assisted zealously to punish them and recover what was stolen.

In 1807 a law was made that all Kafirs detected in the act of carrying off cattle should be shot; of this severe measure the chiefs who had frequently expressed a wish that the government would aid them more in suppressing theft, highly approved; Zlambie in particular remarked that he was glad of it, because he and his people had been very often wrongfully accused without having power to exculpate themselves, whereas if men were captured or killed, it would be easy to ascertain to what tribe they belonged. In 1809, Colonel Collins, as we have before had occasion to remark, was deputed as commissioner for the settlement of the frontier. The same interested and prejudiced advisers who induced him to suggest the adoption of so harsh a policy towards the Hottentots, probably advocated yet more cruel injustice towards the Kafirs, and the result was his recommending the

expulsion of the tribes who had settled in the Zuurveld, and the severance of all connexion between them and the colonists, by compelling the dismissal of the Kafir and even of the Ghonaqua servants domiciliated in the families. And in 1811-12 the whole of this arbitrary proposition was carried into execution. A great commando, comprising a large force of military and burgher militia, was assembled under Colonel Graham; and though the Kafirs earnestly pleaded the cruelty of including the innocent and the guilty in the same condemnation, all were expelled with unrelenting severity. No warning was given, but they were forced to abandon their crops of maize and millet, then nearly ripe, and so extensive that the troops were employed for many weeks\* in destroying their cultivations by trampling them down with large herds of cattle, and burning to the ground their huts and hamlets; and a much longer time before they succeeded in driving the whole of the people (Kafirs and Ghonaquas to the number of 20,000 souls,) over the Great Fish River. Had Gaika, and the border chiefs whose country lay on the other side of the colonial boundary, sided with Zlambie and Congo, affairs might have taken a very different turn; but the local authorities, availing themselves of the known hostility existing between Gaika and his uncle, despatched Mr. Stockenstrom, the Landdrost of Graaf Reynet, who had been five-and-twenty years in the public service of the colony, to assure Gaika that no ill was intended towards him or his associates; upon hearing which, the chief pledged himself that his people should take no advantage of the absence of the boors from their homes, but would remain in peace, and he faithfully kept his word. Soon after this successful attempt at mediation, the Landdrost, who had always placed great reliance on the generosity of the Kafir character, with which he had had long and intimate acquaintance, gave a last and fatal proof of his confidence, under the following circumstances. In December, 1811, the colonial troops entered the Zuurveld in three divisions; the right commanded by Major Cuyler; the centre by Captain Fraser, accompanied by the Commander-in-chief, Colonel Graham; and the left by the Landdrost (Stockenstrom), who, desiring an interview with Colonel Graham, left his camp, at the foot of the Zuurberg, in

\* *Vide* evidence of Captain (now Sir Andries) Stockenstrom, who was personally engaged in the

commando, before a committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1836.

charge of his son, Ensign (now Sir Andries) Stockenstrom, and proceeded across the mountains, accompanied by about forty men. On approaching one of the kloofs, or passes, of the White River, the party beheld numerous bands of Kafirs assembling on both sides of the narrow ridge connecting two arms of the great mountain chain, along which lay their path. Relying on his great personal influence, and hoping to prevent bloodshed, by inducing the Kafirs to leave the country without further hostile operations, he rode straight up to them, and dismounted in the midst, followed by his trusty associates, the field-cornets Potgieter and Geyling, and several boors, who, having vainly striven to dissuade their leader from his daring enterprise, determined to share whatever hazard he might incur. The conference began, and continued for some time in the most amicable manner, the chiefs and their counsellors gathered round the venerable magistrate, and listened with deference to his arguments, until a messenger arrived with the intelligence that the right and centre divisions of the British troops had attacked the Kafirs, some of whose principal men had already fallen. The hope of striking a decisive blow, by the destruction of leaders so powerful as the Landdrost and field-cornets, combined, perhaps, with the desire for retaliation, was irresistible. A boor, standing close by Mr. Stockenstrom, remarked to him the agitated discussion which had suddenly arisen among a party of Kafirs who stood aloof in the thicket, but he replied, with a smile, that there was no danger. While yet speaking, his words received a fearful contradiction; the Kafir war-whoop rent the air, and was re-echoed by barbarian voices from hill and dale for many miles around. In a brief space the Landdrost and fourteen of his companions lay dead, pierced by innumerable wounds. The survivors, of whom several were wounded, availed themselves of the fleetness of their horses to

escape along the mountain ridge to the camp.

It is not known who were the principal chiefs present on this occasion. Zlambie was in the Zuurveld; and Congo, unable to move, lay sick of an incurable disease, in his hut on the Addo heights, where he was murdered a few days afterwards by a party of boors. The Rev. John Brownlee states, probably on Kafir testimony, that some of the Amandankæ, whose clan had been nearly extirpated by a bloody deed of colonial treachery, already recorded, (vide note to page 27), were the chief instigators of this fearful massacre; but the younger Stockenstrom, from the uniform accounts he had received from various eye-witnesses of the tragic scene, has since stated his conviction, that it was the result of a sudden impulse, and not of premeditated treachery.\*

The death of the Landdrost and his companions, doubtless increased the animosity entertained towards the Kafirs, but the details of the commando, as quoted by Pringle from the journal of Lieutenant Hart, an officer actively engaged in it, are most disgraceful. According to this authority, "the Kafirs were shot indiscriminately, women as well as men, wherever found, and even though they offered no resistance;" the females, however, "were killed unintentionally, because the boors could not distinguish them from men among the bushes!"† Most distressing scenes took place between the farmers and their Kafir and Ghonaqua servants, when the cruel order came for their instant dismissal, after long and faithful service. A gentleman intimately acquainted with the facts of the case (Mr. Moodie,) describes these people as having forgot their savage habits, and even their language; the old men said, "we have been with you fifteen or twenty years; we are your friends; we have watched your cattle, when they were taken away by our countrymen; we have followed

\* Ensign Stockenstrom was subsequently appointed Landdrost of Graaf-Reynet. He inherited the ability, the rectitude, and the humanity of his noble-minded parent, and in the midst of most trying circumstances, steered ever an honest and independent course, steadily fulfilling his duty to his countrymen, the boors; but never allowing his natural sympathy with them to warp his strict sense of allegiance towards the British government, or justice towards the coloured races. Many years after the death of his father he was charged with a special message to the Kafirs assembled at Wesleyville (a missionary station in Kafirland). Adverting briefly to the lamentable events of former days, he re-

marked, 'the Kafirs killed my father, and some of you were near at the time. The boors killed your father (Congo) and I was not far off when it happened. Those were bad doings; but now all is changed. You have received missionaries; you have now the same word of God that we have. The only difference between us is the colour of our skins; but though you are black and we are white, yet God has made of one blood all nations of the earth.' The conference being ended, captain Stockenstrom dined at the mission-house in company with the chiefs.—*Vide Kay's Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, p. 254.

† Pringle, p. 291.



them, reclaimed them from the captors, and brought them back; our wives have cultivated your gardens; our children and yours speak the same language." The young men prayed at least to remain until they could earn cattle enough to purchase themselves wives; and asked where now they could procure their tobacco, their iron, their beads, or a bit of bread.\* Mrs. Gardner, a resident in the Uitenhage district, from the year 1793 to 1825, gave much valuable evidence respecting the Kafirs, declaring that her father had continued to occupy his farm in the Zuurveld after the return of Zlambie, Congo, and other tribes; that he had lived surrounded by nine different kraals, and that when he or the other farmers lost cattle, they applied to the chief of the kraal to which the depredators were traced; and when the cattle were discovered, they were restored by the chief, but if they had been killed, an equivalent was given, either from the stock of the plunderer, or his family. The same witness added, that the men were the best herdsmen to be obtained, and the women were disposed to work very hard, from being accustomed to it.†

The bodies of armed militia, called out from all the districts, were not finally disbanded until 1815; although troops (mounted dragoons) were constantly employed in patrolling the thickets, and guarding the passes by which the Kafirs might enter the newly acquired country. All Kafirs found on the right bank of the Fish River, on refusing "to deliver themselves up when discovered, were to be followed up and shot." Nor was this an empty threat, for many were killed in this manner. Very severe penalties of flogging, and even of death, were enacted against such of the colonists as should be found on the left bank of the Great Fish River without a pass, or engaged in any description of traffic with the Kafirs; but these were never attempted to be carried out, the severest punishment for the European transgressor being a few months' imprisonment.‡ A line of posts was established by Colonel Graham along the frontier; and a commanding position selected for the headquarters of the military force, and named Graham's Town. A corps of Hottentot infantry was raised, the expense of which was partly defrayed by levying an annual

tax on the inhabitants of the interior districts, as a commutation for their services when not required in the commandos; but the settlers of the frontier districts (Uitenhage and Graaf Reynet,) were exempted, as being at all times liable to be called on for this service.

In 1815, the peace of the colony was disturbed by a fresh outbreak of the same spirit of causeless disaffection which had actuated the "patriots" of 1798. A Hottentot, named Booy, having been grossly ill-treated by his master, a boor, named Bezuidenhout, complained to the Landdrost of Cradock, that although the term of his contract had expired, he was forbidden either to depart, or to remove what little property he had on the place. Finding his statements correct, the magistrate sent the field-cornet to see him righted, upon which Bezuidenhout openly defied any attempt at interference on the part of the civil authorities, and after admitting the truth of the facts alleged by Booy, he fell upon him in the presence of the field-cornet, gave him a severe beating, and threatened to do the same to any person who should dare to come upon his grounds to claim the property of a Hottentot. Legal proceedings were forthwith instituted, and the boor having refused to make his appearance after having been repeatedly summoned, was sentenced to imprisonment for contempt of court. On seeing the approach of the under-sheriff, and the military escort despatched to arrest him, Bezuidenhout left his house, and betook himself to a cave in a huge rock overhanging the river, into which he had previously conveyed a large quantity of powder and ball, together with a supply of provisions, to enable him to stand a siege, and aided by two young men who lived with him, he opened a brisk fire upon his assailants. Refusing to listen to a parley, he continued to shoot deliberately at every man who came within reach of his "roer" (long-barrelled elephant gun,) until at length, in his eagerness to take sure aim at the besiegers, who were striving to shelter themselves among the stony ledges around his retreat, his own person became so much exposed, that a ball fired by one of the Hottentot soldiers took effect, and killed him on the spot, upon which his two companions immediately surrendered.

This affair produced much excitement

\* Parl. Papers, 1835; Part i., p. 176.

† *Ibid.*, p. 174.

‡ *See* Evidence of Major Dundas. Committee of 1836, pp. 133-4.

throughout the country; the settlers too generally considering any efficient protection extended to the Hottentots, in the light of tyrannical oppression towards themselves. The "patriots," instigated greatly by a man named Prinslo, entered into a conspiracy to bring about a general insurrection, and despatched a deputation to wait upon Gaika, to request his co-operation in expelling the English from the eastern parts of the colony, offering, in the event of success, to vacate the Zuurveld and other territory from which the Kafirs had recently been driven, and confine themselves between the Kat and Koonap streams. Gaika, however, was not to be thus easily cajoled by his old antagonists. He positively refused their alliance, telling the messengers, that if the proposal was really made in sincerity, and not with the intention of decoying him and his followers into the open plains for the purpose of destroying them, it was, at least, a very foolish one, as they had no prospect of success; and that moreover, in any case, he would not take a part in the quarrel, having no inclination to place himself, like a silly deer, between a lion on one side, and a wolf on the other (the English and the Dutch). A seditious letter drawn up at a meeting of the boors by an outlaw named Bothma, who had been banished the colony for forgery, fell into the hands of the local authorities, and Prinslo, who had signed it, was instantly arrested by a party of dragoons. Thus disappointed in their hope of obtaining assistance from Gaika, deprived of their leader, and thwarted by the premature discovery of their designs, the greater part of the insurgents, on being appealed to by their loyal countryman, the Landdrost Stockenstrom, renounced their rebellious project; but about sixty formed themselves into a band and took possession of a mountain pass at the eastern extremity of the Boschberg range, where they were met by a detachment of British troops accompanied by a body of burgher militia. As this force advanced up the hill called Slaghter's-nek, on the brow of which the rebels were posted, the latter were seen shaking hands together, as a mutual pledge to stand together to the last. They then levelled their long guns at the leaders of the party, and were about to fire, when Captain (now Colonel) Fraser, ordering his men to halt, advanced alone, and addressing the leaders, many of whom he knew personally, entreated them with much energy

not by a fruitless resistance to shut out all hope of mercy. One man took deliberate aim at the generous mediator, but the weapon was struck to the ground by another boor, and after a brief consultation they all surrendered, with the exception of a few of the most deeply implicated, who vainly endeavoured to escape, but were either killed or taken prisoners after desperate resistance.

A special commission was despatched to Uitenhage to try the prisoners, of whom five were executed on the 9th of March, 1816, at Van Aard's Post, where they had first appeared in open rebellion; the rest were condemned to witness the death of their own comrades, after which some were set at liberty, and others punished by fine, imprisonment, or banishment.

After this severe lesson the frontier became somewhat tranquillized. The agricultural capabilities of the colony, on whose development its welfare materially depended, were strongly stimulated by the considerable amount of provisions of all kinds, corn, cattle, wine, and other articles required for the supply of Napoleon Buonaparte, his suite, and the considerable military and naval guard stationed at St. Helena during his detention, that is, from 1815, until his death in 1821. An urgent demand for their produce, was, however, an advantage from which too many of the inland farmers could reap but little benefit, owing to the impracticable nature of the country, and the general want of roads and bridges. In this respect the government exercised a false economy. A tithe of the money lavished in keeping under the Kafirs and Hottentots by force of arms, judiciously expended in encouraging the poorer class of His Majesty's South African subjects, whether white or coloured, to labour for the internal improvement of the country by opening up its resources (opportunities being at the same time offered for their own education, and that of their families,) would have rendered them, with few exceptions, peaceable and orderly, by providing them with food and employment.

Unhappily, the then governor, Lord Charles Somerset, entertained extremely despotic ideas; and in the exercise of the almost irresponsible authority entrusted to him, seems to have systematically preferred a narrow and compulsory, to a liberal and conciliatory policy in his dealings, whether individually or collectively, with the people



over whom he ruled for nearly fourteen years. Most disastrous consequences attended his arbitrary interference in the internal affairs of the Kafirs, and his obstinate confirmation of the former error of treating Gaika as the sole and responsible sovereign of his whole nation; notwithstanding the reiterated and public denial with which the chief had met this assertion, in the presence of Mr. Barrow and his companions in 1798, and of Colonel Collins and Landrost Stockenström, in 1809; on which latter occasion he had acknowledged that Hintza was superior to him in rank.\* But it suited the views of Lord Charles to "thrust greatness" upon Gaika, and in April, 1817, a message was forwarded to him, through Mr. Williams, a missionary connected with the London Society, who had in the previous year obtained the long-withheld permission to preach Christianity to the Kafirs. He had been very cordially received both by Zlambie and young Congo, and also by Gaika, who, after several refusals, was with difficulty prevailed upon to meet the governor at the Kat River.

The arbitrary character of Lord Charles Somerset, and his imperious bearing towards English settlers, impart strong probability to the accounts given by the Kafirs of this memorable interview. The formidable appearance of the troops, six hundred strong, drawn up in martial array, of the cannon and other warlike preparations, were doubtless sufficient to induce Gaika to assent to any terms which might insure him immediate deliverance from his critical position, although one condition should have been the assertion of his exclusive dominion over all Africa, with Europe, Asia, and America to boot.† The chief topics entered into by the governor were the depredations committed on the colony, to remedy which it was enacted that Gaika should in future be considered by the Cape government as the sole head of Kafirland; that his agents should be allowed to barter at Graham's Town; but that all other Kafirs found within the colony should be treated as enemies. It was also decided for the first time, that whenever cattle should be stolen from the colonists by Kafirs, a military patrol should follow the traces into Kafirland, and seize from the first kraal or

small village the number of cattle taken, or said to have been taken, from the colonists. Here a great door to irregularities was opened. Subsequent experience proved that in nine cases out of ten it was impossible to find the guilty party, and therefore the innocent generally suffered. Being extremely attached to their cattle, they naturally resisted their being carried away, and any unscrupulous leader who chose to construe their resistance into a hostile feeling, could proceed to the last extremity in the execution of his orders, and deprive them of life for striving to preserve their chief means of supporting it. Thus constant irritation was kept up between the borderers on either side, which a fresh act of impolitic interference on the part of the government soon fanned into open war. In 1818, Gaika, by forcibly seizing the wife of one of Zlambie's principal counsellors, and by other aggressive acts, excited the anger of his superior chief Hintza, and also of Zlambie, Jaluhsa, Habana, Congo, and a remarkable man named Makanna, who, though of humble origin, had, by the force of talent, energy, and eloquence, raised himself to something more than an equality with the leading hereditary chiefs of his country. He adopted the tone of a religious reformer, as well as of a patriot and a warrior, and boldly reproved the vices of his countrymen, inculcating a stricter morality. Assuming the title of a prophet sent from above, for the purpose of raising the social and political condition of his nation, he declared himself endowed with the supernatural gifts necessary for the performance of his mission. Makanna, or *Lynx*, as he was commonly called, was the chief inciter of the powerful confederacy by whose combined forces Gaika, after a fierce battle fought between the Buffalo River and the Debe, was defeated with great slaughter. Upon this Gaika appealed to Lord Charles Somerset to assist him, not in bringing about a reconciliation, but in making war upon his enemies, amongst whom, it should be borne in mind, was Hintza, who, by his own public admission, was the paramount chief of the whole country. In compliance with his request, a powerful force, consisting of regular troops and armed colonists, to the number of 3,352 *the same compliment from himself.*" Gaika had certainly equal reason for addressing Lord Charles as monarch of Great Britain; as had Lord Charles to consider Gaika sole chief of Kafirland.—*Vide the Account of Mr. Williams, and Writings of the Caffre Nation*, p. 72.

\* Aborigines' Committee of 1836; p. 156.

† When Mr. Williams informed Gaika of Lord Somerset's intention with regard to him, he replied that "he was much obliged to his lordship for conferring on him the honour and title of chief of his nation, and begged that his excellency would accept

men, was despatched under Colonel Brereton, into the territory of the united chiefs, who strongly protested against this invasion, declaring that it was an international quarrel, in which the governor of the Cape colony could have no right to interfere, as they desired to remain at peace with the settlers, but would not submit to the yoke of Gaika. All their arguments were in vain; the inhabitants of the villages were either slaughtered or driven into the woods, and the commando returned from Kafirland, leaving multitudes who had with difficulty escaped death by the sword, to perish under the more cruel pangs of famine, but enriched with a spoil of more than 30,000 head of cattle, of which about 21,000 of the finest were divided among the colonists, and about 9,000 given to Gaika. As a natural consequence, the plundered tribes, rendered desperate by famine, crossed the Fish River in numerous bodies, drove in the small military posts, and compelled the border colonists to abandon their dwellings, most of which were destroyed; and when resisted, they did not hesitate to shed blood. Some few successful attempts at resistance were, however, made by insulated parties of the inhabitants, and especially by about a hundred Hottentots, settled at the Missionary Institution of Theopolis, in Albany, and at the Moravian Institution, near Uitenhage, by whom the Kafirs were triumphantly repelled, and an important pass into the colony secured. Additional troops were sent to the frontier, and a plan was formed for the re-invasion of Kafirland; but before it could be carried into execution, the Kafirs, to the number of 9,000, led by Makanna, and Dushani the son of Zlambie, attacked Graham's Town. Had the advance been made by night, it could scarcely have failed of success, but Makanna delayed it, apparently for the purpose of sending overnight (in conformity with a custom held in repute among the heroes of his country) a message of defiance to Colonel Willshire, the British commandant, announcing "that he would breakfast with him the next morning." Accordingly at break of day he assembled his troops on the neighbouring mountains, addressed them in an animating speech, to which they responded with their wild war-cries, and advanced to the assault of the little garrison, which consisted of only about 350 European troops, and a small corps of disciplined Hottentots. The Kafirs poured down in dense disorderly masses, flinging

showers of assagays, which, however, fell miserably ineffective, compared with the destructive fire of musketry opened upon them by the troops, of which every shot was deadly. Still they came forward courageously, their chiefs cheering them on almost to the muzzles of the British guns; and many of the foremost warriors were seen, by the direction of Makanna, breaking short their last assagay to render it a stabbing weapon, in order to rush in upon the troops, and decide the battle in single combat. At the very moment when their overwhelming superiority of numbers, and great bodily strength, seemed about to ensure them the victory, the old Hottentot captain, Boezak, and his followers, to whom most of the Kafir leaders were personally known, singling out the boldest of those who, now in advance, were cheering on their men to the final onset, took fatal aim, and levelled in a few minutes a number of the boldest warriors. A momentary confusion ensued, and the field-pieces, just then brought to bear, poured a destructive fire on the front ranks; those behind recoiled, wild panic succeeded, and Makanna, after vainly attempting a rally, accompanied their flight through broken ravines, where pursuit was impracticable. The slaughter was great for so brief a conflict, 1,400 Kafirs being left dead on the field, and many more perished of their wounds before reaching their own country.\*

To punish the invasion injustice had provoked, all the disposable force in the colony was concentrated upon the frontier, and Colonel Willshire, at the head of the British and Hottentot troops advanced into the enemy's country in one direction, while Landdrost Stockenström, with a burgher commando of a thousand horsemen, swept it in another, inflicting a fearful amount of misery; everywhere carrying off cattle, burning huts, and destroying cultivations. The leading chiefs, Zlambie, Congo, and Habana, were denounced as outlaws, and large rewards offered for their capture, dead or alive; yet among the starving multitudes, not one man or woman could be induced to betray their countrymen, even to save their own lives and those of their children.

At length Makanna freely surrendered himself into the hands of the British, hoping by this means to obtain better terms for his people; but in this he utterly

\* Pringle, p. 301.



failed. He was detained a prisoner, sent to Cape Town, and finally transported to Robben Island, with others of his unfortunate countrymen, there to work in irons in the slate quarries with convicted felons, rebellious slaves, and other malefactors. About a year afterwards, aided by a few Kafirs and slaves, over whom, even in their common bondage, he had established his characteristic ascendancy; he rose upon the guard, overpowered and disarmed them. Then seizing a boat he placed his adherents in it, and quitted the island in safety; but in attempting to gain the iron-bound coast of the mainland, the overloaded pinnacle, in which he had been the last to embark, was upset. The ill-fated African leader clung for some time to a rock, whence his deep sonorous voice was heard cheering on those who were struggling, some of them successfully, with the billows, until he was swept off and engulfed by the raging surf.\*

During the time of the commando against Makanna, the life of the most efficient and most dreaded of the British officers had been spared, and his personal liberty preserved without condition or ransom, under very peculiar circumstances.† Our treatment of Kafir chiefs and warriors unhappily affords no such instance of magnanimity; on the contrary, it would seem as if the colonial government of that day had taken a peculiar pleasure in trampling upon the strongest prejudices of their opponents, by doing everything in their power to degrade their rulers and lower all to the same standard, making Gaika the nominal head of his nation, only for the sake of using him as a tool wherewith to oppress and impoverish the Kafirs. Thus, when it became evident that the Fish River was a perfectly untenable boundary between a starving people on the one side, and isolated groups of settlers enriched with their spoil, on the other—the governor proceeded to the frontier, had a second interview with Gaika, and entered into another verbal treaty, in accordance with which all the Kafirs, friends and foes, were to retire beyond the Keiskamma and Chumie Rivers, leaving nearly 3,000 square miles of fertile

and well-watered country to be added to the already overgrown colony, while they themselves were driven back upon territory fully occupied by native inhabitants, whose pursuits being chiefly pastoral, required additional rather than diminished space. The whole territory of the tribe belonging to the brothers Congo and Pato, over whom Gaika had never pretended to exercise authority, lay within the newly enacted boundary: consequently from 7,000 to 10,000 souls were at once deprived of their land, by a so-called convention between two persons; and there were other tribes whose case was scarcely less cruel and unjust. The boundaries of the country of which the Kafirs were thus dispossessed were very loosely defined, no map being traced, nor even so much as an imaginary line laid down in writing, for their guidance, extending between close and well-known landmarks; and a fresh series of disputes eventually arose from this omission. It was at first specifically stated that the whole of the valuable tract in question was to be held as neutral; it was to become a waste land without inhabitants, or, in the words of Captain Stockenstrom, who acted as interpreter, "the waters of the Koonap, Keiskamma, and the Kat Rivers, were to run in future undisturbed to the sea, and neither Kafirs nor whites were to inhabit the territory." Lord C. Somerset likewise officially declared that the colonial government had no desire to pass "the known boundary of its settlement, the Great Fish River;" but that on the contrary, it rigidly prohibited its subjects from crossing that line of demarcation. Strong permanent posts were, however, established within it, containing each "a force sufficient for aggression, by which means," writes Lord C. Somerset to Colonel Wade, the commandant on the frontier, "it is not to be doubted but that Gaika and his subordinate chiefs may be controlled." The same communication directs Colonel Wade to inform Gaika that it was from him, as the recognised and responsible head of his country, that the colonial government would exact satisfaction for all depredations committed on the

naked. In about an hour he returned, accompanied by a mounted boor, and a led horse. He then resumed his ingubo and assagays, and disappeared in the woods, while the Landdrost rode to rejoin his party. After peace was concluded, Captain Stockenstrom made every effort to discover and reward his generous deliverer, but without success.—Pringle, p. 306.

\* Pringle, p. 307.

† Captain Stockenstrom, while walking alone in the rear of his men, was taken suddenly ill, and left behind unable to move, and ignorant of the way. In this situation he was surprised by an armed Kafir, one of Zlambie's warriors, who, after ascertaining his case, laid down his ingubo (cloak) and his arms, at the feet of his now helpless enemy, and darted off

colony; that troops would be at hand to enforce the orders of the governor on this head; that therefore it would not avail him to say that his inferior chiefs would not attend to his injunctions, but that "he must control them, and point out the depredators, who would be punished with exemplary severity."\*

At the request of Gaika, a missionary instructor was again appointed to reside with him,† who, however, was most injudiciously expected to act likewise as a political agent, and correspond closely with the colonial government.

Shortly after the return of Lord Charles from the Cape frontier, intelligence arrived at Cape Town that a large increase of population might soon be expected, and, in fact, the sum of £50,000 was voted by the House of Commons for the conveyance and settlement of about 4,000 persons, men, women, and children (principally from Scotland), who reached Table Bay in the months of March and April, 1820. This gave a new turn to affairs; a few months before, his lordship had publicly stated that no enlargement of the colony was desired, but rather deprecated; now he became anxious to appropriate to the use of the immigrants the neutral, or *ceded* territory, as it was found more convenient to term it. Being then on the point of visiting England, Lord Charles left Sir Rufane Donkin as acting governor, with the understanding that he would be perfectly justified in locating settlers on the tract in question; but the remonstrances of the colonial secretary, Colonel Bird, and of Landdrost Stockenström, so far prevailed, as to induce Sir R. Donkin, before taking further proceedings, to ask the consent of Gaika to the

proposed measure; the rights of the other proprietary chiefs, Zlambie and Dushani, Eno, Habana, Congo, Pato, Botman, and many others, who nine months before had been hunted over the new border, being, in this as in previous instances, totally disregarded. Gaika, who had himself been expelled from the neutral ground, passively acquiesced, and a proclamation was forthwith issued, annexing the "newly acquired territory" to the Zuurveld or Albany district. Grants of this land were then made to some of the English settlers; but Lord Charles, on his return to the Cape, disapproving of this, as of every other act, good or bad, done by the acting governor on his behalf,‡ withdrew the proclamation, resumed all the grants, except such as had been legally confirmed, and called back the colonists within the previous limits of the colony, not, it would appear, from any lingering feeling of respect to his own engagements, as he soon afterwards appropriated part of it to his own use,§ and gave farms of immense extent to various frontier boors, the nature of whose claims upon him reflect little credit on either party. It is worthy of remark, that the fathers of these men had attempted to obtain possession of this very ground, thirty years before, but their petition had been firmly and indignantly rejected by Sir James Craig (see p. 32).

The band of British settlers,|| many of whom had embarked, filled with most unreasonable expectations, raised by statements circulated in pamphlets and speeches, of a soil and climate known only in romance, had their difficulties increased ten-fold by the arbitrary waywardness of the governor in reversing the various measures taken by

\* Aborigines' Committee of 1836. Evidence of Col. Wade, p. 404.

† As the successor of the excellent Mr. Williams, who had died of fever, to the deep grief of the Kafirs, who would scarcely permit his widow and her two infant children to leave them, so sensible had many of them become of the benefit of missionary teaching.

‡ *Ide* Parl. Papers for 1827, and pamphlets by Sir Rufane Donkin and Col. Bird, on the government of the Cape, published in 1827.

§ *Ide* Pringle, pp. 315-317.

|| Among their number was the gifted poet Thomas Pringle, who emigrated with his immediate family and connexions. In consequence of his endeavours to establish a free press at the Cape, he was compelled by the intolerance of Lord Charles Somerset to resign his situation as public librarian, which he had obtained through the intervention of Sir Walter Scott with Mr. Goulburn, the then colonial secretary,

and eventually obliged to return to England, where he was enabled to become a fellow-worker in a noble cause, by being selected as Secretary to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Mr. Fairbairn, his able coadjutor in the publication of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, manfully held his ground, and at length, after pleading in person at Downing-street, the injustice of suppressing a paper against which neither sedition, libel, nor immorality of any kind could be justly pleaded, but which on the contrary had adopted from the first a temperate and conciliatory tone that many other colonial journals might do well to imitate, the press was restored, and placed on the safe and sound footing of legal responsibility. From the time of its re-establishment in 1828 to the present day, Mr. Fairbairn has maintained the sole editorship of the paper which, though commenced under such ungenial auspices, has continued ever since to reflect credit both on him and on its supporters in the colony.



Sir Rufane Donkin on their behalf. The total inadequacy of the lands in the first instance assigned to them, rendered prompt exertion necessary to save them from utter ruin, and the important and multifarious duties of Landdrost were taken from a popular and courteous magistrate (Major Jones), and entrusted "to a person who neglected the interests of the settlers, and who aggravated the feelings of the governor by attributing the dissatisfaction that undoubtedly did from this cause prevail, to a spirit of turbulence, and disaffection towards the government."\* The newly-formed village of Bathurst was ruined, and the hasty withdrawal of the military guard from the Fredericksburg settlement, compelled its abandonment† by the half-pay officers and their families, who had been placed there as an advanced post to cover the Zuurveld. The necessary enlargement of the locations was refused, or obtained with great difficulty; while, as we have seen, lavish grants were given to numbers of the frontier boors of the worst class. Successive failures of the corn crops and of potatoes, fell under these circumstances, with crushing weight upon the unfortunate settlers, whose grievances and misfortunes were, however, eventually, to a considerable extent, redressed or compensated: the former by the measures which resulted from the Special Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated May, 1825; the latter by the liberal subscriptions raised in their behalf, about £7,000 being remitted from India and England, and about £3,000 collected in the colony. The distribution of this fund, according to a scheme very judiciously framed from data carefully collected on the spot, did much to restore a numerous and respectable class of people to comfort and independence, and give a renewed impulse to the settlement, which from that time steadily advanced, notwithstanding the partial continuance of blight in the wheat crops for several years.

Meanwhile the condition of the Hottentots, whose valour and fidelity had been so remarkably manifested during the late warfare, was growing worse and worse. Dr.

Philip, who was sent from England in 1818 by the directors of the London Missionary Society, to examine into and report upon the condition of their missions, gave a deplorable account of the systematic oppression, of which Dr. Van der Kemp had previously complained so bitterly, as exercised towards the Hottentot race throughout the colony. He described the Bethelsdorp institution as having been virtually converted into a slave-lodge, and the people called out to labour at Uitenhage, to work on the public roads, to cultivate the lands of the local authorities, or to serve their friends, or the colonial government, receiving for these labours never more than a trifling remuneration, and very frequently none at all. In addition to the daily oppressions exercised upon this people, "we found," says Dr. Philip, "that seventy of the men had been employed for six months in the Kafir war. For this service they received nothing but rations for themselves; nothing in the shape of wages was allowed to their families; and the women, to keep themselves and children from starving, were under the necessity of contracting debts among the farmers, to be liquidated by the personal service of the husbands on their return from Kafirland."‡

In addition to this heavy list of sufferings must be added, that long after the boors were dismissed from the commandoes, the poor Hottentots were still detained from their homes. It would occupy too much space to set forth all their grievances; enough has been already said to show that every class of H.M. subjects within the colony were suffering from gross misgovernment. Meanwhile the frontier tribes, Kafirs, Bushmen, and even the more favoured Griquas, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at greater length in a subsequent page, were all kept in a state of constant irritation. The Kafirs especially were again outraged by an attempt to seize the person of Gaika during a time of peace, which was frustrated by his disguising himself in the mantle of one of his wives, and pretending to be occupied in some feminine occupation. What cause of offence or suspicion Gaika§

\* Report of Commissioners of Inquiry. Parl. Papers, 1827; p. 91.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Researches in South Africa*, vol. i., pp. 201, 202.

§ In a despatch addressed to the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated September, 1824, Lord Charles peremptorily denied all knowledge of this transaction. "The seizure of Gaika," he writes, "I never

heard of until I read it in this tissue of falsehoods," alluding to the statements made by the Albany settlers to the commissioners. A letter in his lordship's own handwriting, directing the attack upon Gaika, was, however, subsequently found at Graham's Town, upon which he boldly defended the measure, and only expressed his regret that it had not succeeded! (See Parl. Papers for 1827, No. 371, pp. 39, 40, 43, 92; and No. 444, p. 13.) The pamphlets

might have given does not appear, but the natural results of this attempt, and "of the irregular incursions of the boors into the Kafir country,"\* were renewed depredations on the part of the provoked and goaded Kafirs. These were speedily followed by a retaliatory expedition, consisting of a strong force of military and burgher militia, headed by Major Somerset (the son of the governor, and the newly-appointed commandant on the frontier), of which the following is the official account printed in the *Cape Government Gazette* of December 20th, 1823, where the whole affair is described as a very gallant and meritorious exploit:—

"At day-break on the 5th, Major Somerset, having collected his force, passed with celerity along the ridge, and at daylight had the satisfaction of pouring into the centre of Macomo's kraal, with a rapidity that at once astonished and completely overset the Caffers. A few assagais were thrown, but the attack was made with such vigour that little resistance could be made. *As many Caffers having been destroyed as it was thought would evince our superiority and power*, Major Somerset stopped the slaughter, and secured the cattle to the amount of 7,000 head, and had them driven to Fort Beaufort, where kraals had been previously prepared for them."

After the frontier boors had received a liberal share of these cattle, as an indemnity for their real or pretended losses, the "surplus" is stated in the *Gazette* to have been returned to Macomo (the son of Gaika) to save the women and children of his tribe from want. But what the surplus was, or how many Kafirs had been killed to "evince our superiority," is not mentioned; we are only informed that not a single man of the colonial force was hurt.

The following account, given by Dr. Philip, of the state in which he found the unfortunate Bushmen, proves that the treatment to which they were subjected was even worse than that endured by the Kafirs, and their condition at this period was certainly discreditable in the highest degree to those whose covetousness brought about, or whose apathy tacitly permitted proceedings attended with such frightful results:—

"In no period of equal length, in the history of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, has the work of death and slavery been carried on with the same degree of success which has attended it in the interim between 1817 and 1825. In 1816, we had 1,600 people belonging to our Bushman stations of Toverberg and Hephzibah; and the Bushmen, though reduced and harassed by the commandoes which had been sent against them, were still the nominal possessors of the Bushman country south of the Orange river, and were to be seen existing in separate and distinct kraals, in different parts of the country. But in 1825, when I visited their country, those kraals had disappeared; the missionary stations had all been put down; the country was then in the possession of the farmers; and the poor Bushmen still residing in it, were either in their service, or living like fugitives among the rocks, afraid to appear by daylight, lest they should be shot at like wild beasts."

—Vol. ii., p. 269.

At length the general feeling of dissatisfaction and insecurity throughout the colony became felt at home, and a commission of inquiry was despatched to the Cape to investigate its government, and its social condition. The commissioners, Mr. Bigge and Sir William Colebrooke, were happily men of unimpeachable honesty, and notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of obtaining information, owing to the tyrannical despotism exercised by the governor, his great power, and the fear inspired by the system of espionage by which he had surrounded, or at least permitted himself to be surrounded; they ascertained sufficient facts to enable them to frame a report which speedily produced an important change of policy towards the settlers, and in some degree ameliorated the position of the Kafirs. The result of the inquiry with respect to the Hottentots was a grave exposure of the injustice they had so long endured, and a full vindication of the missionary institutions, from the ungrounded charges brought against them by some of the colonists, who sought to suppress them on the ground of their encouraging the Hottentots in idleness, whereas the real objection to these institutions was, as it ever had been, that they helped the labourer to stand firm on his demand for reasonable wages. The commissioners reported strongly in their favour. To this report, to the unremitting labours of Dr. Philip, and the enlightened zeal of Sir Richard Bourke, who in 1828 succeeded Lord Charles Somerset as governor of the colony, may be attributed the passing of a local law which was immediately confirmed in England, and which has justly been called the Magna Charta of the Hottentots. This was the fiftieth ordinance which simply placed these people on an equality with Europeans. It repealed all former enactments affecting the Hottentots, and other free persons of colour lawfully

\* Report of Commissioners. Parl. Papers, 1827; p. 92.

† See Letter of Sir Rufane Donkin. Parl. Papers, 1827; p. 45.



residing within the colony, excepting so far as related to existing contracts, and provided that all grants, purchases, and transfer of land, or other property whatsoever, made to or by any Hottentot, &c., should be of full force and effect, and authorized such persons, on procuring deeds of burgership, to obtain and possess by grant, purchase, or other equitable means, any land or property in the colony.\* From and after the passing of this ordinance, the Hottentots were no longer subject to any compulsory service, to which other classes of his Majesty's subjects were not liable; nor to any hindrance, molestation, fine, imprisonment, or punishment of any kind whatsoever, under the pretence that such person had been guilty of vagrancy or any other offence, unless after trial in due course of law, "any custom or usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." In order to protect the ignorant and unwary from improvident contracts, engagements for hiring or service were not generally to exceed one month in duration, or they might be renewed from month to month; but in the event of a contract being made for a longer period, of which twelve months was the extreme limit, master and servant were to appear before the superintendent of police, or district magistrate, and sign an agreement which was to be duly filed and registered. Wages were no longer to be paid in liquor or tobacco: women and children were to have separate contracts from the husband and parent: proof of payment of wages was required, and penalties were enacted for detaining children without contracts, or beyond the time stipulated in existing engagements. At the age of eighteen years the Hottentots, and other free people of colour, were to be considered competent to enter into contracts: notice of births and deaths to be given by employers to the field-cornets of their district, and half-yearly returns to be made by the field-cornets to commissioners. In the event of ill-usage, Hottentots, &c., who should bring a reasonable complaint against their masters, if unable to bear the expense, were to have a summons free of charge issued on their behalf. There are other useful provisions in this ordinance. The Hottentots attested their sense of its importance by attaching printed copies of it to their bibles. It is true that no law had previously existed, declaring them incapable of holding land; but the government had habitually abstained from mak-

ing them grants, though aware that their wages were far too low to enable them to become purchasers. Thus the parliamentary returns of 1822 and 1824, show that in ten years 200 acres had been granted to six Hottentot families; and this in a country where a European would consider himself ill-used if his farm were under 2,000; while the amount granted in previous years to the boors greatly exceeded this latter quantity. These petty grants had been obtained by the Hottentots under circumstances highly creditable to the humanity of the private individuals whose disinterested exertions had wrung them from the local government. One instance deserves to be recorded in letters of gold. Among the settlers of 1820 was a Mr. Parker, an Irishman, who came to South Africa as head or leader of a considerable party of immigrants. On arriving at the tract of country allotted to him, he found to his surprise, that it was already in the possession of a Hottentot family. The senior Hottentot, Abraham Lwartz, offered no resistance; he only said that it was a hard case, after his having laboured there, under the instructions of the missionaries, for fifty years, that he, his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, who were all Christians, should be thus dispossessed of their lands and houses (of which there were about fourteen built comfortably, in the English style); but, he added, opening a large bible that lay on the table, and turning to the thirteenth chapter of Romans, "pursuant to these instructions, which I consider divine, I will yield to the powers that be." Mr. Parker states that several of the settlers who accompanied him were extremely anxious to get possession of these lands, which in beauty of cultivation exceeded anything he had seen in the colony; but he considered that he should ill discharge his duty as a man and a Christian, in accepting Varkens' Fountain: he therefore assured the aged Hottentot that neither he nor any of his party of colonists should disturb him. He kept his word, and although his decision was met by the local authorities with "very strong expressions of indignation," he nevertheless persevered until he succeeded in obtaining for Abraham Lwartz the legal title to the land which his industry and perseverance so justly deserved.

Before proceeding further with the general history, it is necessary to notice the

\* Parl. Papers, 18th March, 1835; p. 169.

proceedings of the race called Bastaards, or Griquas, the offspring of the original Dutch settlers and the female aborigines. Being driven out of the colony by the oppressions of the farmers, they established themselves, under the guidance of their missionary instructors, near the banks of the Orange River, and called their principal station Griqua Town, where a patriarchal government was created, without reference to the colonial laws. They were, however, considered as dependent on the British authorities at the Cape, and two chiefs, named Adam Kok and Barend Barends, were appointed by the Earl of Caledon, during his administration. Disturbances having arisen among them, Landdrost Stockenström was sent to restore order. He recommended the appointment of a resident British agent, and in 1822, Mr. Melville, of the London Missionary Society, was appointed government agent at Griqua Town, with instructions to interfere as little as possible with the customs of the people, to encourage their attendance on Christian instruction, to restrict their intercourse with the colony to the fairs established at Beaufort, and to furnish statistical details and reports as to their condition, &c. All traffic in arms and gunpowder with the borderers was strictly forbidden; but an illicit traffic was largely carried on, the boors selling gunpowder to the Griquas, as onion seed.

In 1821, previous to the arrival of Mr. Melville, the Griquas, owing to internal dissensions, had separated into three parties; Waterboer, who, although by extraction a Bushman, had been created a chief by the election of the people, remained at Griqua Town; Adam Kok and his followers located themselves at Campbell Town; and B. Barends, at Daniel's Kuil: the whole territory extended along both banks of the Orange River, nearly from 28° to 30° S. lat., and from 22° to 25° E. long. The remissness and neglect of the old chiefs, Adam Kok and Barends, caused the Griqua community to fall into a disorderly condition, and a few deserters from the body, named Hendricks, Goegman, and others, established a separate township near the Hart River. They subsequently removed to the hills, were joined by others and by Corannas, and were termed Bergenaars, or mountaineers. Being provided with fire-arms and horses, well-acquainted with the country, excellent sharpshooters, inured to

hardship, and despising danger, they soon became a terror to the Bechuanas, Mantatees, and other yet more barbarous tribes, whose territories they occasionally entered in marauding parties, which, in turn, induced incursions to be made on our exposed northern frontier. Happily, Mr. Melville, and subsequently, Mr. Wright, a "very intelligent missionary from the London institution,"\* obtained considerable influence over the mind of the chief, Andreas Waterboer, whose son, at fourteen years of age, became one of the under-teachers in the mission-school at Griqua Town.

Mr. Wright induced Waterboer and his son to pay a visit to the governor at Cape Town, where they were well received, and a treaty was signed† by Sir B. D'Urban and Waterboer, under which the latter engaged to be the faithful friend and ally of the colony; to restrain and punish any attempt to violate the peace of the frontier by any people living within his country; to protect that portion of the colonial border opposite to his own, against all enemies or marauders from the interior, who might attempt to pass through his territory; to assist the colonial authorities in any enterprise which they might undertake for the recovering of property or the apprehension of banditti; to seize and send back criminals or fugitives from the colony; to inform the British government of any intended predatory or hostile attempts which might come to his knowledge, and to co-operate cordially and in all good faith with the Cape authorities, in preserving peace and extending civilization among the native tribes. The governor, on his part, engaged to pay the chief the sum of £100 per annum, to defray the expenses which the execution of the aforesaid engagements might incur; to supply him with 200 muskets, and a proportionate quantity of ammunition, and more of the latter, as occasion might require. Fifty pounds were likewise to be annually placed in the hands of the missionary stationed at Griqua Town, in aid of the school for the education of the children, and especially for their instruction in the English language. To encourage the observance of these engagements, and to secure the benefits which they were intended to afford to both parties, an agent (Mr. Wright) was appointed to reside at Griqua Town, whom the chief agreed to receive and protect, and with whom he was

\* Words of Sir B. D'Urban.

† 11th December, 1824.



to communicate confidentially upon all matters mutually concerning his territory and the colony. This treaty was immediately confirmed in England; the Earl of Aberdeen, then his majesty's secretary of state for the colonies, in a despatch dated April, 1835, writes,—“I not only approve in the fullest manner of the object and the terms of this agreement, but I am desirous of expressing the high satisfaction which it has afforded to H.M. government to learn that you have, even in one instance, succeeded so completely to realize the views which the king's government entertain of the only policy which it becomes this country to observe and steadfastly to pursue, in regard to the native tribes by which the colony under your government is in a great measure surrounded.”\* It is indeed extraordinary, that the treaty with Waterboer should be the only one before or since carried out effectually with any native chief by the governors of the Cape of Good Hope.

In no colony of the Crown has there been greater administrative difficulty; this has arisen almost unavoidably from the neighbourhood of various barbarous tribes; but this disadvantage has been increased beyond calculation by the almost entire absence of any system, and by vacillating and indeterminate policy. If the destruction of the aboriginal African races had been resolved on, the measure, however atrocious, might, in all human probability, long ere this have been accomplished. If, on the other hand, a due regard to Christian responsibility—social advantage, and native rights, had been the guiding motives of our conduct, the Kafirs might now have been like the New Zealanders, a peaceful and prosperous people, with extensive herds and flocks, cultivating large tracts of lands, and consuming a considerable amount of British manufactures. The Hottentots and Bushmen would, under a similar civilizing procedure, have supplied the demand for labour within the colony,

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 117.

† Ordinance of 14th July, 1838.

‡ During the years 1825–6, numerous commandoes and patrols were sent from the Graaf Reynet and Somerset districts against the miserable Bushmen, which were not inferior in barbarity to those carried on under the Dutch administration. In one instance (2nd April, 1825) a commando murdered thirteen Bushmen at the Brak River; in another, at Baviana's River (22nd August, 1825), two Bushmen chiefs and one woman were slain, one woman and one child were wounded, and one woman and three children were taken prisoners. On this occasion, Field-cornet

and prevented the necessity of admitting the Mantatees and other savage and foreign tribes into our territory.†

The colonial government oscillated between the two courses, and thus not only left public opinion unsettled, but subjected the Kafirs to the evil influence of the prevailing inimical spirit on their European frontier, while the absence of any penetrating ray of civilization among the Zoolu and other savage tribes on the western and north-western boundaries of Kafirland, caused frequent irruptions and attacks, which not only prevented the Kafirs settling down into peaceable habits, but almost necessitated the maintenance of a belligerent attitude by the colonists, and seemed to justify the continuance of the pernicious system of commandoes against the border tribes, under the authority of the Landdrosts of the several districts, as established by the Dutch government, which was continued in full force on our occupation of the Cape. Earl Macartney, in May, 1797, issued an ordinance requiring all persons to “pay immediate and cheerful obedience” to the commands of the Landdrost when ordered on these expeditions; and Sir Lowry Cole, in June, 1833, thirty-six years after, enforced obedience by enacting penalties of fine and imprisonment against those who refused to obey the summons to service.‡ The commandoes were first objected to by the Right Honourable E. G. Stanley, now Earl of Derby, then H.M. secretary of state for the colonies, who, in a despatch to Governor Sir L. Cole, dated 13th November, 1833, writes—“These expeditions have been represented as a system of military execution inflicted upon the natives, sometimes to prevent or to punish their hostile incursions into the territory wrested from them by the European settlers, but more frequently as a means of gratifying the cupidity or the vengeance of the Dutch or English farmers; and further, as being marked by the most atrocious disregard of

C. F. Van der Nest, as usual, fired on the inhabitants of the kraal at daybreak, while its inmates were all asleep, killing or wounding indiscriminately all within its boundaries. [Parl. Papers, January, 1835; pp. 5, 7, 8.] What idea of Christianity could these unhappy beings entertain, when they found its nominal professors perpetrating such wholesale murders? or how could the colonists expect the blessing of peace within their borders? or anything but punishment, sooner or later, from Him in whose sight the life of the humblest of His creatures is as sacred as that of the monarch of the greatest throne on earth, and who says, “*Vengeance is mine,—I will repay.*”

human life, and by cruelties alike disgraceful to those who sanctioned, and destructive to those who endured them." Mr. Stanley was therefore far from being prepared to approve the recent ordinance of Sir Lowry Cole, as affording permanent rules for the habitual conduct of the magistracy, though he might appreciate it as a temporary provision against an extreme emergency; he therefore requested further information on the subject.\* Sir L. Cole, in reply, upheld the system of commandoes as the only available means of defending the frontier; stating that—

"During the last four or five years some wandering hordes on the north frontier of the colony have become not merely troublesome, but have organized a system of murder and depredation to an extent that has seldom or never been equalled in past times; whole families have been attacked and butchered by these hordes, composed of the outcasts and refuse of the colony and native tribes; their houses burnt down, and the whole of their live stock and every article belonging to them either carried off or destroyed. The approach of these barbarians can neither be foreseen nor provided against beforehand. They come suddenly and in great force from the deserts, and are generally far advanced on their return thither before any sufficient force can be mustered, either for punishing their crimes or rescuing the plunder from their grasp. On the several points to the north and north-east, the colonists are most liable to the attacks of wandering tribes, and considering the abject poverty as well as the extreme ferocity of these people (who are frequently engaged among themselves in wars of plunder and extermination, the stronger against the weaker, some of the latter have even been reduced to the practice of cannibalism), whose only riches consist of bows and poisoned arrows, it cannot be supposed that the colonists are moved by eupidity in endeavouring to repel their attacks, or follow up their retreat. The desire of vengeance and punishment is only natural, but even this is more frequently defeated than gratified. . . . The atrocities imputed to the colonists are now of rare occurrence, and seldom fail to bring down punishment on their heads, where the guilty individuals can be traced."

Notwithstanding these arguments, Mr. Stanley, after carefully reviewing the whole subject, while fully admitting the difficulties of the case, announced his majesty's disallowance of the commando ordinance; stating, among other just and humane reasons, that by its practical working the sword might be "drawn against whole bodies of people at the bidding of a provisional constable;" and they might be rendered liable to military execution, "though not found in the actual commission of outrages so violent as to be repelled only by force."†

\* Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; p. 62.

† Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; p. 65. Despatch to Sir B. D'Urban, 27th November, 1833.

It was not, however, by the provincial authorities only, that the commando system was carried on, without regard to the claims of justice and humanity; the officer placed in command of the troops on the frontier cannot be exempted from the same censure. One instance of reckless blundering was forcibly represented by certain of the Albany settlers, as calculated to produce disastrous results. To understand this fully, we must bear in mind the unusually peaceful state of the frontier at the time. One of the most successful measures of Sir Rufane Donkin, had been the promotion of an equitable barter between the colonists and Kafirs by means of fairs or markets held at Fort Willshire, on the Keiskamma River, every Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, throughout the year. No fire-arms, ammunition, or fermented liquors, were allowed to be sold. These fairs were sanctioned, in July, 1824, by Lord Charles Somerset. The Kafirs attended them in large numbers, bringing for sale ivory, ox hides, skins, corn, gum, mats, &c., and purchasing, in return, woollens, cottons, agricultural and other implements, beads, bread, &c. To such an extent was this civilizing traffic carried, that among other articles, 50,441lbs. of ivory were bought from the Kafirs by about 200 British traders, between the 18th of August, 1824, and the 12th of March, 1825, at a price of from 2s. to 3s. per pound. The Commissioners of Inquiry, in their report dated the 25th of May, 1825, when referring to the unsuccessful attempt to establish tranquillity on the frontier, by compelling the Kafirs to retire beyond the Fish River, which had "entailed expenses upon the government, and sacrifices upon the people, in no degree compensated by the acquirement of the territory which was the object of it," notice the great success that had attended the establishment of fairs on the boundary of the neutral territory, as an important fact to be borne in mind in considering the means of civilizing the Kafirs and permanently establishing the tranquillity of the border. But no scheme that promised peaceful intercourse was allowed a fair chance of permanent success. Some information, perhaps false, and certainly exaggerated, was conveyed in 1825 to Lieutenant-colonel Somerset, the commandant, respecting certain horses and cattle which had been stolen from the colony, or had else strayed over the border,



and were alleged to be detained at the kraal of a native named Neuka. No inquiry appears to have been instituted into the truth of the story, neither was any complaint or appeal made to the leading chiefs, although one of them (Botman) had some time before sent into Fort Willshire a Kafir concerned in the murder of a herdboy (Isaac Williams), and Gaika, by the peremptory command of Lieut.-colonel Scott, had caused the offender to be strangled. Without even adopting any sufficient measures for the protection of the European traders at Fort Willshire, Lieutenant-colonel Somerset planned a secret and sudden expedition. Accompanied by about 200 men of the Cape mounted cavalry and a party of boors, he proceeded from Graham's Town, intending to attack the kraal of Neuka. By some strange mistake, the onslaught was made on the village of Botman, the very chief who had previously given a marked proof of his desire to keep peace with the colony; several women and children were killed, and Botman himself would have fallen, had he not been recognised by a member of the expedition. The commander, on discovering his mistake, returned the cattle he had just captured, and marched off again in search of Neuka. Unwarned by his past fatal indiscretion, he actually repeated the same outrage by assaulting a kraal occupied by a Gaika tribe, some of whom were likewise fired upon and killed before their innocence was ascertained. On the remonstrance of the chief, a portion of the cattle seized, was restored, and for the third time the commando started afresh after the alleged offender, who, having learned what was going on, had retreated to the woods with all his people and their property, so that he sustained no loss, although upwards of 500 head of cattle were brought into the colony by this murdering and marauding expedition. The military employed, estimated the number of Kafirs, men, women, and children, destroyed, at about twenty. These were all slain at the kraals of Gaika and Botman, from whence also the 500 head of cattle were procured.

Mr. H. Huntley, a settler who had resided eleven years on or near the frontier, in a letter addressed to the Commissioners of Inquiry, dated, Uitenhage, January 17, 1826, says:—

"The enlightened policy of permitting an intercourse and entering into trade with our former ene-

mies, had nearly put a stop to the system of plunder and bloodshed which had so long prevailed. Murder was unheard of, and plunder (save in a very few instances, and to a very small extent) had ceased. In the midst of this long wished-for peace (which had only occasionally been interrupted by such petty depredations as must always be expected from a nation totally uncivilized) when mutual confidence began to be felt, when the trade of the colony was likely to derive the greatest benefit from this new channel, and when the intercourse between a civilized and savage nation promised the happiest results, a wanton, cruel, unprovoked, and treacherous attack was made on the kraals of the very chief whose alliance we had courted, and who considered himself under the particular protection of the colonial government. \* \* \* Is it possible, gentlemen, to expect that the Kafir nation will tamely submit to such galling injustice—to such violation of faith and breach of treaties? Will they not revenge themselves on the inhabitants of this colony? will they not shed blood for blood? and will they not at least attempt to recover their stolen property? Severely will the British settlers, who are just beginning to recover from their losses and other miseries, suffer for this wanton aggression on the part of the colonial government."

EXPULSION OF MACOMO FROM THE KAT RIVER.—Gaika died in 1829, aged fifty-six years. The habits of intemperance which accelerated his death, had for some years before so greatly impaired his faculties, as to render him of little political importance. Unhappily the same brutalizing vice obtained considerable hold upon the mind of his son Macomo, who exercised the chief authority for some time before his father's decease, and afterwards acted as regent during the minority of the young heir Sandilli, the son of Sutu, a Tambookie woman, and Gaika's head wife. Notwithstanding this serious drawback, Macomo was no ordinary character, but possessed much ability and energy. He seems to have been at this time deeply impressed with the necessity of maintaining amicable relations with the colony, and having been permitted by the governor, in 1822, to return and reoccupy a portion of the neutral or ceded territory on the Kat River, he evinced his good-will to the settlers on various occasions by sending to Fort Hare sheep and cattle recaptured by him from other Kafirs. Captain Somerset bore witness in 1828 that Macomo and his people had become very quiet, and even afforded considerable assistance in preventing depredations.† This state of things was interrupted by the breaking out of hostilities between Macomo and the Tambookie or

\* Statements laid before the Commissioners of Inquiry, January, 1826, and published in the Parl. Papers of 18th March, 1835; pp. 183—4.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1835; p. 82.

Amatembu Kafirs, under Chalala, who while living, so far as the colonists were concerned, in peace on the borders of the Tarka district, were attacked by him, and being overpowered, fled into the colony for protection; Macomo overtook, plundered, and slew several of them. This breach of the peace he vindicated on the plea of his having acted as the auxiliary of his father-in-law, Powana, himself a Tambookie chief, whose rightful authority Chalala had thrown off. In obedience to the command of the government, he restored his own share of the captured cattle (380 head), and was collecting the remainder from among his followers, when the order arrived for his expulsion from the Kat River.\* He remonstrated forcibly, but offered no resistance, and he and his people were removed without bloodshed, the military executing their stern mission with as much lenity as possible. The expelled chief made no immediate attempt to recover the land from which he had been driven, well knowing that he could not expect the co-operation of other Kafir leaders. His brother Tyalie was still suffered to remain within the neutral territory; the sons of Congo,—Pato, Kama, and Cobus, were residing among the colonists, and an alliance had been voluntarily formed by the government with Hintza, the Great Chief of Kafirland, to whose assistance Major Dundas had proceeded, when the Zoolus, sent by their ferocious leader Chaka, (instigated, it is alleged, by some evil disposed persons resident at Natal),† threatened to invade his territories. The primary object of the embassy despatched by General Bourke was the promotion of peace. It was hoped that its leader would be able to act as mediator between Chaka and Hintza, though, on account of the friendly dispositions manifested by the latter towards the colony, he was to be assured of the resolve of the British government to uphold and co-operate with him, in the event of its being found impossible to prevent hostilities. No collision took place with Chaka, who perished miserably shortly after by the hands of his own counsellors, but the mission was nevertheless attended with fatal results. Major

\* Evidence of Major Dundas and Dr. Philip, *Parl. Papers*, 1836: pp. 632—3.

† Much confusion has arisen from the application of the terms *king*, paramount or sovereign *chief*, to Hintza, as his actual position was thereby ill-expressed. He was viewed with superstitious reverence, as the lineal descendant of an elder branch of the ruling

Dundas, though expressly sent to act as mediator or defender in an extreme case, allowed the small expedition under his command to be employed for a less worthy purpose. On arriving among the Tambookies, he found their chief, Voosani, suffering from the plundering incursions of the Monguanas, a section of a people commonly called Mantatees, (or, when on warlike expeditions, Fitceni,) who, having been bereft of their country by the rapacity of Chaka, incited by their wants and injuries, had gone forth in turn to plunder and devour. Without any attempt at friendly intervention, the officer, to quote his own words, did not hesitate to avail himself of the opportunity of giving the marauders a lesson. Recommending to Voosani the immediate adoption of hostile measures, he attacked and fired upon a party of 150 to 200 Monguanas, who, he acknowledges, made "little or no attempt at resistance," killed from sixty to seventy of them, and took from twenty to thirty thousand head of cattle, which were distributed among the Tambookies, who declared them to be their property, and therewith returned to their homes in great triumph.§ In a few days, however, Matuwana, the chief of the defeated natives, sent down an overwhelming force, recaptured the cattle, and threatened to come himself at an unlooked-for moment, when "the assistance of white men and guns would not be obtainable." The whole of Kafirland was thrown into confusion, the colony itself was supposed to be in danger, and in about a month after the above-mentioned skirmish, it was deemed necessary to despatch a strong military and burgher force to the distance of nearly 300 miles from the colonial boundary. Delighted at obtaining so powerful an auxiliary, an immense host of Kafirs joined the commando, and pointed out the temporary huts erected in the vale where Matuwana and his men were lying. On the evening of Sunday, the 26th of August, 1828, the troops arrived within a few hours' march of the spot, and after halting for an hour or two, again proceeded, with the view of taking them by surprise at dawn of day the following morning. In this they succeeded.

family, and consulted upon all points of ancient customs or ceremonies, but he exercised no control over any of the other feudal and independent chiefs, all of whom were more or less allied to him by blood.

‡ *Parl. Papers*, June, 1835; part ii., p. 25: and *Parl. Papers*, August, 1836; p. 282.

§ *Parl. Papers*, 1835; part ii, p. 26.



The greater part of the wretched people were still sleeping when the soldiers galloped in among the huts, and opened a destructive fire upon them as they rushed out. The men, seizing their spears, vainly attempted to defend themselves against the balls and rockets of their assailants; hundreds quickly fell, and the rest fled to the mountains. The troops pursued them, and on their return found their Kafir allies, who, probably from the want of fire-arms, had hung back, and taken little or no share in the engagement, now busily employed in driving off cattle and slaying women and children.\* Previous to the attack being made, strict orders had indeed been given by the Commander-in-chief, prohibiting the cruelties common to barbarian warfare; but, after witnessing the ruthless destruction inflicted by British troops upon a people who had never harmed a British subject, it is scarcely to be supposed that they would be restrained by an injunction, the sincerity of which they might possibly have doubted. A writer who has recorded the painful details of these proceedings, states that an officer whom duty required to be on the spot, declared the whole of this sanguinary affair to have been "one of the most disgraceful and cold-blooded acts to which the English soldier had ever been rendered accessory;†" and Captain Stockenström publicly declared that this expedition had "brought such indelible disgrace upon us, that any attempt to prevent a repetition may be deemed supererogatory.‡" The colonial government, disgusted by the atrocities committed by the Kafirs, caused it to be notified to them that they were not to expect protection on any future occasion,§ but nevertheless founded upon this most unsatisfactory interference a claim to the lasting gratitude of Hintza and his people, who, it is asserted, as well as the Tamboos,

were actually in danger of extermination from the Fiteani; but of this there appears no sufficient evidence.

**SETTLEMENT OF HOTTENTOTS ON THE KAT RIVER.**—The use to which a portion of the territory taken from Macomo was applied, made some amends for, though it could not justify, the manner in which it had been obtained. The government, wishing to give effect to the provisions of the 50th ordinance, felt the necessity of opening a field for the industry of the class in whose behalf it had been framed, and accordingly resolved upon allotting certain lands for their use. The governor, Sir Lowry Cole, and Captain Stockenström, who had been recently appointed commissioner-general of the eastern frontier, took an especial interest in the project, and the latter went to the mission stations, villages, and towns, inviting Hottentots of good character to settle with their families on the branches of the Kat River.

This measure would, it was hoped, prove beneficial in many ways. While it afforded some compensation to the natives for the loss of the extensive country possessed by their forefathers, and some reward for the faithful services of many past years, especially during the war; it was likewise expected to ensure an efficient bulwark to the most exposed part of the frontier.

The Hottentots gladly responded to the call, and assembled by hundreds at the appointed rendezvous. Some came on pack-oxen, some on sledges, some in carts, and all who could in waggons, either of their own, or borrowed from the missionary institutions. They could scarcely believe their senses, or realize their freedom and their heritage. The Commissioner-general was on the spot to welcome the new burghers, and impress upon them the duties of their altered position. He then formed

\* Colonel Somerset states, "after a continued fire from six o'clock to about half-past one, the enemy was driven from all points, and I found by reports from the rear, that, during these operations, the Kafirs, who, I regret to say, did not attempt to render me the least assistance against the enemy, had employed themselves in the work of destruction, by slaying and wounding the women and children whom they found in the huts along the mountain, and in the rear."—*Parl. Papers*, June, 1837; p. 51. Thus, while the warriors of the offending tribe were pursued and fired upon for the space of seven hours and-a-half, their wretched wives and infants were perishing also. No estimate states the number of lives destroyed, though it must have been very large; the amount of suffering inflicted is, of course, quite

incalculable, but perhaps it may be well to remember that rockets thrown by British soldiers among groups of naked and fugitive Kafirs, may occasion agony quite as acute as that inflicted by the savage who wreaks his vengeance upon the helpless family of his foe, in a manner far more painful to the beholder or the reader, but possibly not more torturing to the sufferer. It does not appear that the attacking party sustained any loss whatever.

† Kay's *Caffrarian Researches*, p. 331.

‡ Aborigines' Committee, 1836; p. 119.

§ Evidence of Acting-governor Wade, Aborigines' Committee, August, 1836; p. 282.

|| The situations of landdrost were abolished in 1828, and civil commissioners substituted in their stead.

them into parties, under separate heads, to whom was entrusted the duty of selecting spots of certain extent, and dividing them into "erven" or building allotments. Of these erven, diagrams were promised to be given; but this was never done, and, consequently, the people became simply occupiers of land on sufferance, as members of the Hottentot nation, and not proprietors as individuals, which could not but have an injurious effect on individual exertion. For a long while they waited patiently, and their fortitude and perseverance during the early years of their settlement were beyond all praise. It was feared that the ejected Kafirs would attack the new settlers, and the latter were therefore provided with fire-arms for their defence. Upon this a large number of the colonists declared that the assagais of the Kafirs were less dangerous than a congregation of almost starving Hottentots, with muskets in their hands, surrounded on all sides by numberless flocks. Even the originators of the scheme began to doubt whether they had not acted too rashly; but the conduct of the people under these peculiarly trying circumstances amply justified the confidence placed in them. They were told, "show yourselves worthy of freedom, and your further improvement is in your own power." Thus encouraged, they bravely set to work; those who had no other means of their own, lived upon the natural products of the country, bulbs, berries, &c., technically called "*veldt kos*," *field provisions*, or worked for those who had something, while the latter were obliged to economise, to support their families, until in a few months they had an abundance of pumpkins, Indian corn, peas, beans, &c. In a very short time, dams, sloods, and aqueducts appeared, cut through rock and indurated soil with the most miserable instruments. They early showed great anxiety to have schools established among them, regularly travelled great distances to attend divine service, and petitioned the government that their grants might contain a prohibition against the establishment of canteens or brandy-houses. In June, 1833, the settlement contained a population of 2,185 men, women, and children, permanently fixed in the district, under fifty-two heads of parties. These were, for the most part, comfortably lodged, and possessed of

2,444 head of cattle, and 4,966 sheep; they had reaped 2,300 muids of wheat and barley, and completed three-and-twenty miles of water-course for the purpose of irrigation.\* Meanwhile they had cost the government nothing beyond the salary of their minister, from fifteen to twenty muids of Indian corn, a few more of oats, given them for seed the first year (1829), and the loan of muskets, together with a little ammunition, as much for the protection of the colony as for their own. They cheerfully paid every tax, too glad to be at length placed on an equality with their European fellow-subjects; to be treated like whom was their first desire—any difference, however trifling, being viewed with suspicious distrust. And trusty defenders they proved to this the most troubled portion of the frontier, defending themselves manfully against the incursions of the Kafirs, who, naturally jealous and displeased at their position, frequently molested them.†

After his expulsion from the Kat River, Macomo retired to the banks of the Chumie; but so far from instigating his people to plunder the colony, he appears rather to have done his utmost to restrain them. Thus we find Colonel Somerset, in August, 1831, acknowledging the material assistance he had received from Macomo's Kafirs, in tracing the murderer of a Hottentot boy,‡ and recovering stolen cattle. Later in the same year, Commissioner-general Stockenstrom writes that Macomo and his brother, Tyalie, had sent forty horses back into the colony, which they had exerted themselves to find in Kafirland, and adds, "any difficulty towards a considerable reduction of our military force, is attributable to the ferment we keep up among the Kafirs, by depriving them of the means of subsistence."§

Notwithstanding this testimony, Sir Lowry Cole, before leaving the colony, in 1833, gave orders for the expulsion of Tyalie from the Mankazana, beyond the colonial boundary. The command was obeyed, and the chief placed beyond a small periodical stream called the Gaga, or Kaga. Colonel Wade, on succeeding Sir Lowry Cole as acting-governor, being informed by Lieutenant Pettin-gal, the engineer officer originally engaged in determining the boundary, that the Gaga, instead of being beyond, was within the colonial frontier, without consulting the

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1835: part ii., p. 73.

† Parl. Papers, 1836; p. 154.

‡ Aborigines' Committee, Parl. Papers, 1836; p. 114.

§ *Idem*, pp. 294–5.



frontier authorities, gave orders for the further removal of Tyalie, Botman, and Macomo, beyond the Chumie. Colonel Somerset, the commandant of the frontier, was absent on leave: Colonel England, the officer appointed in his stead, after consulting Captain Aitchison, who had been named by the colonial government to the ungracious task of removing the chiefs, wrote back suggesting a few months' delay, as an act of charity towards the Kafirs, on account of the forward state of their corn and pumpkins. By return of post, however, a peremptory repetition of the former instructions arrived. The force entrusted to Captain Aitchison was quite inadequate to effect its purpose by violence.\* He sent for Macomo and Botman, both of whom he had known for years, and explained the case to them. The former was very much irritated, said that they could bear witness at Fort Willshire to his good conduct, and asked what was the cause of his removal. Captain Aitchison could not tell him, having heard nothing, no reason having been assigned to him. Being, moreover, asked by a boor who lived near to Macomo, the same question, he could only reply that he was obeying orders; upon which the farmer said, "I am very sorry for it, for I have never lost, so long as they have been here, a single beast; they have even recovered beasts for me." After many hours' discussion, during which Macomo told Captain Aitchison he knew very well he could not force him; he was persuaded to go quietly, on being assured that his good behaviour should be represented to Colonel Somerset and the new governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, both of whom might be expected on the frontier very shortly. In two days the territory in question was evacuated. In reliance upon the prospect of redress held forth by a man who "had never deceived them in any way whatever," the tribes left their cultivations, and removed in a time of severe drought to a country much inferior in quality, and already thickly inhabited. They took Captain Aitchison over the country which they were to inhabit, and there was not a morsel of grass upon it; "it was as bare as a parade."† This occurred in November, 1833.‡

\* *I*vide Captain Aitchison's evidence before the Aborigines Committee of 1836; p. 8.

† *Idem*, p. 9.

‡ At this very time it was admitted by the leading authorities, in an official communication, that the

Colonel Somerset, on his return from England, seeing the very lamentable state of distress into which Macomo, Tyalie, and their people had been thrown, by their expulsion from a space of upwards of forty square miles, their cattle being actually dying of starvation, besought the governor to permit their temporary reoccupation of a portion of the lands as an act of mercy. He specially urged the "most exemplary" conduct of Macomo, attested by Colonel England and all the field-cornets.§ In consequence of this appeal the Gaikas were again allowed to cross the Keiskamma; but the late acting-governor (Colonel Wade), and the civil commissioner, Captain Campbell, remonstrated so strongly with the governor against the consideration thus evinced to them, as being equally "extraordinary as injudicious,"|| that they were again expelled by return of post.

In the same year they were allowed to resettle themselves,—and again removed. This last ejection took place on the 21st October, 1834. Colonel Wade, who witnessed it, says, "at this time they had been returned about a month, had built their huts, established their cattle-kraals, and commenced the cultivation of their gardens." He states, that, together with Colonel Somerset, he made a visit to Macomo and Botman's kraals, across the Keiskamma, and that Macomo rode back with them to the Omkobina, a tributary of the Chumie, where a fearful scene awaited them.

"These valleys were swarming with Kafirs, as was the whole country in our front, as far as the Gaga; the people were all in motion, carrying off their effects, and driving away their cattle towards the drifts of the river; and, to my utter amazement, the whole country around and before us was in a blaze. Presently we came up with a strong patrol of the mounted rifle-corps, which had, it appeared, come out from Fort Beaufort that morning: the soldiers were busily employed in burning the huts, and driving the Kafirs towards the frontier. \* \* \* I rode with Macomo some time, who was evidently sorely vexed at the work that was going on around us. He complained of the Kafirs being so often permitted to enter the colony, and again thrust out, without any apparent cause for their removal; that they had remained for the last five weeks unmolested, and were again burnt out, when there was no cause of complaint against them. He asked me, emphatically, 'When am I to have my country again?' In the evening we [*i.e.* Colonels Somerset and Wade] proceeded to Fort Beaufort, and, on

Kafirs had "good grounds for complaining of aggressions on the part of the colonists."—*Parl. Papers*, July, 1837; p. 102.

§ Letter to Sir B. D'Urban.—*I*vide *Parl. Papers*, July, 1837; p. 103.

|| *Idem*, p. 109.

the following morning, breakfasted at the Chumie, within three miles of Tyalie's kraal. In compliance with Colonel Somerset's request, he had assembled his warriors for a sham fight; he was, however, evidently out of humour, and conversed but little. After the fight, I told him I would visit him on the following day at his own kraal, which I did, in company with Captain Armstrong; but he was still in a sulky state, and talked but little."—Evidence of Colonel Wade before the Aborigines Committee of 1836; p. 315.

The sight of burning villages, ruined cultivations, and people driven away like wild beasts before the sword, might well render the chief "sulky," that is, too full of sorrow and anger to be inclined for friendly conversation with those who, however unwillingly, were the chief actors in this scene of havoc and destruction. That British officers, under such circumstances, should request the diversion of a "sham fight," is passing strange. The proud Kafirs, in whose breasts an insult rankles when an injury might be forgotten, in complying, possibly solaced themselves with the hope that ere long they would take the initiative in a real fight in which the spectators should bear their part.\*

SECONDARY CAUSES OF THE WAR OF 1834-5.—The extension of the colony, not by right but by night, and the consequent expulsion of Macomo and Tyalie from the territory each regarded as peculiarly his own, was beyond doubt the leading cause of the war; but there were many minor ones. The frontier system can scarcely be classed among these; it was in itself sufficient to have produced the most fearful results. Stockenström, from whose appointment in 1828, as commissioner-general of the eastern division, so much had been expected, had found himself quite powerless to follow out his view of giving protection to both sides, to the colonists, the Kafirs, and the other native tribes. The tacit opposition of the colonial government, evinced

chiefly by all communications being held with the inferior officers of his department, instead of with or through their head; and the difference of opinion existing between himself and the military commandant, Colonel Somerset, respecting the defence of the frontier, induced him to come to England and explain the utter inutility of his office to the secretary of state, who abolished it in December, 1833.

The commissioner-general considered the great source of misfortune on the frontier to be the reprisal system, namely, the taking Kafir cattle by patrols, and he gave the following reasons for his opinion:

"If Kafirs steal cattle, very seldom the real perpetrators can be found, unless the man losing the cattle has been on his guard, and sees the robbery actually perpetrated, so that he can immediately collect a force and pursue the plunderers; if the cattle be once out of sight of the plundered party, there is seldom any getting them again; our patrols are then entirely at the mercy of the statements made by the farmers, and they may pretend that they are leading them on the trace of the stolen cattle, which may be the trace of any cattle in the world. On coming up to the first Kafir kraal, the Kafir, knowing the purpose for which the patrol comes, immediately drives his cattle out of sight; we then use force, and collect those cattle, and take the number said to be stolen, or more:† this the Kafirs naturally, and as it always appeared to me, justly resist; they have nothing else to live on; and if the cows be taken away, the calves perish, and it is a miserable condition in which the Kafir women and children are left: that resistance is usually construed into hostility, and it is almost impossible to prevent innocent bloodshed. . . . There have been instances where the farmers have gone into Kafirland with a patrol, pretending to be on the spoor of stolen cattle, and where cattle were taken from the Kafirs on the strength of this supposed theft, and on returning home he has found his cattle in another direction,‡ or found them destroyed by wolves, or, through his own neglect, entirely strayed away; and thus men, not losing cattle at all, but coveting Kafir cattle, have nothing more to do but to lead the patrol to a kraal, and commit the outrages above described. The Kafirs have frequently told me—'We do not care how many Kafirs you shoot, if they come into your

\* One of Macomo's Kafirs, named Goobie, having raised his hand to oppose the burning of his hut, built on the Gaga, in which (according to the statement made by the Kafirs to Dr. Philip) his sick wife and child then were; was taken to Graham's Town, and sentenced by the magistrate to be imprisoned for two months, and receive fifty lashes, for resisting a serjeant in the execution of his duty. Goobie, when released, went through Kafirland, showing his wounded back, and calling upon his countrymen to avenge a wrong which, according to their notions of honour, was an unpardonable affront to them as a nation, and far worse than death to him, no other Kafir having ever been subjected to so degrading a punishment.—Aborigines Committee: evidence of Capt. Bradford, p. 161; Dr. Philip, p. 552.

† The regulations varied greatly in this respect, as in most others; sometimes the number stolen was to be restored four-fold; at others twice as many were to be taken; and again, only an equal number to that lost; but these rules varied every three or four months. With regard to the taking of life by patrols, our system was equally vacillating.—Aborigines Committee of 1836: pp. 6 to 37.

‡ Captain Aitchison stated that he had known boors come and report the loss of certain cattle, and the patrol, sent in consequence, had found them in the little jungles near the farm. The same witness declared that patrolling expeditions were the sole business of the corps, and that the junior officers had been out as often as four times a week.—*Idem* pp. 6, 7.



country, and you catch them stealing; but for every cow you take from our country you make a thief. This I know to be the case, and though I am aware that this is an unpopular view of the question, I must persist that as long as Kafir cattle be taken, peace on the frontier is utterly impossible.\*

To remedy these evils, the commissioner-general proposed that, in granting land within the ceded or neutral territory, one condition should be the support in each location of a certain number of armed men to take care of the flocks; and that where it should be proved, that a man had left his cattle unguarded, or had not seen them for the space of four-and-twenty hours, no patrol should cross the frontier in search of them. He declared that nine-tenths of the losses so much complained of happened through the negligence of the colonists, and that while commandoes were actually assembling in consequence of alleged depredations, flocks were scattered through the thickest part of the bush, both day and night, unguarded, which was a sufficient temptation for barbarians to steal them. During his tenure of office, if unable to effect the good he desired, Stockenstrom at least prevented the commission of much evil, and more than once prevented the outbreak of war by deprecating the assembling of unnecessary commandoes, though clamorously demanded by a certain class among the farmers. Unhappily his representations were often disregarded, and expeditions, such as that against the Kafirs in 1831, were sent out in direct opposition to them; while in other cases his authority was wilfully ignored both by the Cape and frontier authorities, as in the instance of the Bushman commando in 1830, of which he became aware only by accidentally hearing of the ammunition furnished by government on that occasion. Even his most forcible statements respecting individual cases of wrong and aggression, which were goading the Kafirs to madness, were suffered to remain wholly unnoticed. A striking illustration of this is furnished by the circumstances attending the death of the aged Kafir chief, Zeco, the uncle of Gaika. At the requisition of Somerset, Stockenstrom, in June, 1830, had been induced to sanction and accompany a commando against the Kafirs. As usual, the expedition was to be carried out in divisions. The general

order given by Stockenstrom was that only cattle which could be sworn to as stolen from the colony, should be seized, under pain of prosecution for theft and perjury, unless the Kafirs should offer forcible resistance, in which case the cattle of the offending kraals were to be confiscated. This he desired to be made known to the Kafirs as an inducement to them to remain quiet, and he gave most explicit directions in writing to Field-cornet Erasmus, who commanded the Dutch burgher force, which he himself enforced on them by word of mouth when on the eve of starting.

Other and opposite directions would, however, seem to have been given on the same occasion; for Colonel Somerset, when appealed to some six years after, declared that under any circumstances he intended all the cattle of Zeco and several minor chiefs to be taken to Fort Willshire, where, after all the colonial cattle had been selected, a portion of that belonging to the Kafirs would be retained as an equivalent for the losses of the settlers.† So great a misunderstanding between the leaders of the expedition could scarcely fail to impress the Kafirs with an idea of deliberate bad faith, when they found some portions of the commando making distinct promises on the part of their leaders, and others violating them on the same authority.‡

When the various divisions united in Kafirland, Erasmus reported that his party had had a severe fight with the Kafirs, who had resisted his attempt to seize the colonial cattle; that his people were obliged to fire on them in self-defence, had killed several, and borne away their cattle. The two commanders believing this account of the matter, retained most of the captured cattle and distributed them among the colonists. Not long after, on again visiting the frontier, the commissioner-general was informed that the report of Erasmus was untrue, and that Zeco had been shot even unarmed. He forthwith proceeded into Kafirland, and instituted a searching inquiry, collecting all possible information, both from the Kafirs and from the Hottentots who had accompanied the boors. The result led him to arrive without doubt at the following conclusion. That the Kafirs, on seeing their cattle assembled, had besought Erasmus to leave them at least the milch cows; that he

\* Evidence before the Ab. Com., 1836; p. 83.

† *Ide* deposition of Colonel Somerset, written in 1836, published in the Minutes of Ab. Com., p. 384.

‡ Macomo long afterwards continued to cite this commando, its broken promises, and fatal results, as having been peculiarly grievous to his people.

had left them a portion, and that they had followed him upon his saying that they might come and demand their cattle of the commandant and commissioner, provided they left their assagais behind, which they did, and that they were assisting in driving their cattle through the bush when they were fired upon.\* Zeco and six of his people were killed, and another Kafir was dangerously wounded; the evident inducement for this brutal conduct being to have a plea for the confiscation of the cattle. Stockenstrom immediately acquainted the governor with the statements he had received, expecting that the whole case would be publicly investigated. He admitted that he had not been able clearly to prove that Erasmus had actually given the order to fire, but he urged that the confidence previously placed in him rendered his false report the more unpardonable, and recommended his dismissal as a very necessary example.

Before addressing the governor, or even obtaining full evidence on the subject, the commissioner-general wrote to Erasmus, advising him to come and hear what was alleged by the Kafirs respecting the death of Zeco, in order that he might defend himself.† No notice was taken of either of these communications, and Stockenstrom's remonstrances on other important frontier questions were equally unheeded. His opinions and those of Colonel Somerset were utterly at variance; Stockenstrom warmly deprecated the evils of the patrol system, pleaded the immense majority of cases in which the innocent would suffer, and condemned reprisals under any circumstances, except where upon the authority of government, a regular commando was sent out under proper responsible commanders.

\* One account of this melancholy affair, and certainly not an improbable one, is, that the owners of certain of the cattle, on seeing their property carried away, uttered from a distance the peculiar whistle, on hearing which, the cattle are trained to wheel round, and set off at full speed. The backward movement among the herd, caused by this signal, induced the boors to fire a loose charge among them, with the intention of preventing their escape, and Zeco and his men fell in the confusion. But the statements are so various and so contradictory, that it is now hopeless to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

† Aborigines Committee, 1836; pp. 85, 115, 231, 236, 303, 322. In 1836, six years after the death of Zeco, in consequence of the evidence given by Stockenstrom before the parliamentary committee, the depositions of several individuals were taken, and sent to England, on behalf of Erasmus and his

This he considered as different as possible from any man pretending to have lost cattle going in and taking Kafir cattle; the one being necessary and legitimate protection, the other making every man judge and avenger in his own cause. The military commandant, on the contrary, vindicated the patrol system, and went so far as to suggest as a mode of intimidating the Kafirs, that patrols should be directed to fire upon the people of any kraal to which the spoor of cattle might be traced.‡ It was quite evident that two officers equal in rank, with each distinct responsibility, yet differing so widely in their views, could not conscientiously act together on matters imperatively demanding perfect unity. The governor, Sir Lowry Cole, probably felt this when he threw the affairs of the frontier almost wholly in the hands of the military commandant, and so greatly superseded the functions of the civil commissioner-general as to induce the latter to leave the colony. After his departure matters grew from bad to worse; patrols became more and more frequent, until their occasional cessation became necessary, because the horses of the military were so harassed. Other circumstances combined to hurry on a crisis. The Kafirs regard their chiefs with extreme veneration, and they all agreed in numbering among their grievances the ill treatment these had received; citing especially the fate of Zeco, and others of inferior rank, who fell not in time of open and declared war, but during the forays made into their country. The seizure of Macomo, while attending as an invited and honoured guest, a missionary meeting at the Kat River settlement, performed as it was in a peculiarly insulting manner,§ is an instance of the fickle and

companions. Colonel Somerset bore witness to having known Erasmus for many years, and "considered him a humane man, and discreet in his intercourse with the Kafir people." Be this as it may, the guilt or innocence of Erasmus affords no justification for the neglect with which so serious a charge, made by so high an authority, was treated in the colony.—*Ibid.*, p. 285.

‡ Colonel Somerset to Colonel Wade, August, 1831.

§ Macomo had come at the request of the missionaries belonging to the Glasgow society, who were not aware that any frontier regulation required him first to obtain a pass to enter the colony. He had, however, asked for one, and been refused (why, or by whom, does not appear); but probably thinking the object of his visit—and especially coming alone and unarmed—a sufficient justification, he ventured to come. After addressing the meeting



uncertain conduct observed towards the haughty chiefs, who at one time received marked courtesy from the highest men in the colony, while at another they were subjected to the most gross insults. The wounding of Xoxo, the brother of Macomo and Tyalie, (on 10th December, 1834), while defending the cattle of the latter chief; his calling out to his followers on partially recovering from the fainting fit in which he had fallen, to "fight away!"\* and the determined spirit evinced in consequence, doubtless had its effect on the Kafir people, who had long been kept tranquil by repeated promises that the governor would soon visit the frontier and do them justice. About a week before the wounding of Xoxo, a patrol under the command of an ensign aged eighteen, sent out for the recovery of some horses alleged to have been stolen, had seized cattle instead; resistance was made, and the young leader slightly wounded by an assagai. A fine of 300 head of cattle was demanded, and paid by Eno; not that stolen property had been found in the kraals of his people, but because they had wounded an officer in resisting the carrying off of their own. The Kafirs, therefore, asked why so high a value was set upon the blood of the youngest and most inferior European leader, when that of their own highest and hereditary chiefs was so lightly regarded?

These things, and such as these, had fanned the flame of discontent in minds where it had been long smouldering. Macomo and Tyalie were still disposed to wait the promised coming of the governor to hear and redress their grievances; but in an excellent speech, favouring the missionary cause, he was about to depart, when some horsemen were seen riding furiously down the hill into the village. The serjeant who led them, if not intoxicated, was at least coarse and unmannerly in the extreme. He threatened to pinion the chief upon the slightest show of resistance, though none was offered, or even practicable, and loaded his firelock in his face, putting a ball cartridge in both barrels. When they were going off, Macomo said, "I cannot go with this man; this man will shoot me on the way: one of you missionaries had better accompany me, and see what is done to me; for this man will shoot me, and then say I wanted to escape; and therefore some of you had better go with me to see me to the post." The military station alluded to was eighteen miles distant, over a hilly and bad road; but the elder Mr. Read, (the former companion of Van der Kemp), though then advanced in years, and already fatigued with the exertions of the day, went himself with Macomo, and, according to Colonel Wade (Aborigines Committee, p. 420), "begged very hard" for the chief, who was accord-

their people were no longer governable. The disturbed state of the colony had likewise probably its share in urging on the Kafirs, for there is reason to suppose that they were well acquainted with the disaffection prevalent among the boors, and likewise knew the anxieties rife in the minds of the Hottentots, whose support, on condition of being allowed to remain possessed of the Kat River, they are said to have confidently expected. The discontent of the former sprung from various causes, among which may be named the deprivation of compulsory labour, occasioned by the emancipation of the Hottentots, and now about to be followed by the total abolition of slavery. This aggravated their ill-feeling towards the colonial government, of whose frontier policy they made many and bitter complaints. The chief cause which led the Kafirs to look for the co-operation of the Hottentots, was the state of dread and uneasiness which had been kept up among them by the frequent discussion of the vagrancy question, both in the Cape councils and in the public journals. The old Dutch law against vagrancy, by whose provisions the first offence was punishable by whipping, the second by whipping and banishment from the district, and the third by branding and banishment from the country, had been annulled by the fiftieth ordinance, which ordinance having been confirmed at home by an order of the queen in council, could be set aside only by another act of the supreme authority. The apprenticeship of the slaves, by which their complete manumission was heralded, being about to commence, the subject of a vagrancy ingly liberated after a severe reproof.—*I*vide account published by Mr. Barker, one of the missionaries present on this occasion, and cited in the Report of Committee of 1836, p. 421. See also the evidence of the younger Mr. Read, pp. 593-4. At this very time there were about 200 traders, with their wives and families, residing in Kafirland, many of them under the special protection of Macomo. Captain Bradford, of the East India Company's service, who spent eight months of the year 1834 in Kafirland, declared, that a friend of his asked the wives of some of these men if they were not alarmed when their husbands left them to go into the colony. They replied, they were as safe as if residing in Graham's Town; for their huts were seldom or never robbed, although they contained the things esteemed most precious by the Kafirs.—*Idem*, p. 160.

\* Evidence before the Aborigines Committee of Jan Tzatzoe, the Christian chief of a tribe numbering about 2,000 souls, who sided with the colonists, pp. 563-4-7. See Lieutenant Sutton's account of the affair, Parliamentary Papers, June, 1835; Part II., p. 121.

law was again mooted, its promoters either forgetting or wilfully overlooking the cruelty of such a measure in a country where there were no poor laws, and consequently no public provision for the relief of the really indigent and incapable, who would thus be subjected to the penalties designed for the idle and disorderly. One great proof that the Hottentots had used their freedom well, was that they had brought no burden upon the colony. Contrary to the general opinion, that their excessive indolence would incapacitate them for earning their own livelihood except when under stringent and systematic coercion, many of them not only contrived to provide the necessaries of life for themselves, but also for their infirm and aged relatives, who had no "parochial aid" to look to in the hour of necessity. Unquestionably there was an increase of vagrancy, that is to say, the Hottentot, in many cases, gave way to the indolent habits induced by a fine climate, the ability to maintain life upon the poorest and cheapest diet, and above all by the absence of any sufficient motive for exertion. Still, however, there was clearly no sufficient cause to justify the proceedings of the majority of the colonial legislature, by whom a vagrancy law was passed, and sent to England, notwithstanding the energetic protest of some of the most eminent men in the colony,\* including the governor (Sir B. D'Urban), who declared himself to have arrived at the conviction, from his own investigation and the opinion of competent authorities, that the existing laws were sufficient for holding a proper check upon vagrancy. He, moreover, dissented from the bill on the grounds of its containing several clauses so fraught with danger to the liberties of H. M. colonial subjects, and especially to one large class of them, that while he felt sure that they would never be allowed by the king in council, he feared the having enacted them would essentially prejudice the colony in the opinion, not only of the government, but of the English nation.†

The governor had foreseen rightly; the proposed measure was decisively rejected by the home authorities; but meanwhile so much anxiety and doubt had been excited among the Hottentots, as to lead the Kafirs to hope for their co-operation against the

colony, of whom, however, the result proved them brave and loyal members.

WAR OF 1834-'5.—The wounding of Xoxo occurred about the 15th of December, 1834. It was immediately followed by the assumption, on the part of Tyalie's people, of a most threatening and determined aspect. The chief himself proceeded to the mission-station established on the western side of the Chumie. Mr. Chalmers was absent in the colony, having left his wife and family as usual under the sole protection of the Kafirs. Tyalie desired Mrs. Chalmers to write and inquire why the military at Fort Beaufort had wounded his brother; but she induced him to remain quiet until the arrival of her husband, when the chief returned, attended by a number of his counsellors, who all appeared exceedingly infuriated, declared that the white men were determined to ruin them, that the soldiers had unjustly taken their country, burned their houses, killed their chiefs, and seized their cattle; they knew not what to do—they sought vengeance. Tyalie declared, "every year a commando comes, every week a patrol comes, every day farmers come, and seize our cattle." Mr. Chalmers pressed him to go to the military post, and there ask redress, assuring him that he would be safe; but his counsellors said, "No, do you wish our chief to be killed, like the son of Eno and Zeco?"‡

A message was sent to Hintza, who lived to the eastward, over the Kei River, about ninety miles distant from Tyalie's kraal; but without waiting his answer, the border clans at once commenced making incursions into the neutral territory, driving their own cattle into the interior, slaying the goats, avowedly because they could not run from the white men, whom they expected shortly to invade their country, and ordering the English traders residing among them to quit immediately.

Notwithstanding all this, the authorities on the frontier, up to the last moment, appear to have had little dread of anything worse than what may be termed Kafir patrols, and were quite unprepared for the desolating inroad made on the 23rd, when an overpowering body§ of native warriors, led by Tyalie and the wounded Xoxo,|| burst into the districts of Albany and Somerset,

\* *Vide* opinions of Chief Justice Wyld and Justice Burton.—Parl. Papers, June, 1837; pp. 170—181.

† Parl. Papers, June, 1837; p. 102.

‡ *Vide* Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 82.

§ According to Sir B. D'Urban they probably numbered 20,000; but, from later evidence, 5,000 would be probably much nearer the truth.

|| There is reason to believe that Macomo never



and swept along the whole frontier line from the Winterberg to the sea (90 to 100 miles in extent), massacring the farmers, burning their dwellings, and carrying off the live stock, but sparing universally the women\* and children.

The horrors of war were now felt at Graham's Town—all was alarm and uncertainty. Such military preparations were made as the emergency would permit; the town was divided into five wards; the males capable of bearing arms, numbering perhaps from 400 to 600 men, were enrolled, and all the spirit-shops were immediately closed. Colonel Somerset, fettered by the want of men and ammunition, continued to make demands on the few troops stationed at Graham's Town, whither the ruined farmers and their families poured in from all quarters, each bringing some new tale of rapine and bloodshed. On the 25th of December the Kafirs ravaged the farms within twenty miles of the town; and during the first week of January, 1835, had penetrated in straggling parties to the eastward, even beyond the Sunday River, spreading the panic to Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, whither many inhabitants of Albany and Uitenhage had fled with their live stock and effects.† Fort Willshire, on the Keiskamma, (a square of barracks, store-houses, and stables, with four small bastions at the angles, and a couple of guns,) was taken possession of by the Kafirs, and in part burnt. The open post at Kafir Drift, and the "wattle and daub post" at Kat River, shared the same fate. Between the outbreak on the 23rd of December and the 1st of January, 40 farmers had been murdered, 450 farm-houses were burned, and 4,000 horses, above 100,000 head of cattle,

entered the colony, but remained in the mountains during the whole of the war.—Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 606.

\* One woman was killed, but it was not intentionally; many were specially protected. More than one instance occurred of Kafirs, not only carefully guarding little children who had fallen into their hands, but even travelling many miles through the disturbed country to restore them to their mothers.—Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 300.

† *Idem*, p. 131.

‡ Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 47. The damage done was estimated at above £288,000, but this statement was probably greatly exaggerated.—*Idem*, p. 329.

§ Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 364.

|| Macomo, Tyalie, and others, had for years been promised by official authorities, that "the Governor" of the time being, would come to hear and redress their wrongs. It was the more imperative upon

and above 150,000 sheep and goats, were carried off.‡ Meanwhile the messengers sent to the powerful Hintza returned, bearing a very laconic reply, "Hintza sends his word to you, and says, you must not fight, for I do not fight."§ Some of the chiefs obeyed this mandate; but the majority gave way to the fury of their people, who persisted in entering the colony in heavy columns, though generally under leaders of inferior rank. For the colonists, however, efficient succour was near at hand. The governor, on hearing the fearful news from the frontier, acted with a promptitude and energy which contrasted painfully with his previous delay;|| Colonel (now Sir Harry) Smith was sent off to the eastern frontier to take the command of the army, which he assumed on the 7th of January, having performed the journey from Cape Town to Graham's Town, a distance of 600 miles, on horseback, in six days. Troops and stores were forwarded on the 2nd of January, disembarked on the 11th at Algoa Bay, and sent forward to Graham's Town as quickly as the difficult route and the tedious means of conveyance by ox-waggons over bad roads would permit. The governor proclaimed martial law to be in force within the districts of Albany, Somerset, Uitenhage, Graaf Reynet, George, and Beaufort, for all cases and in all matters connected with the combined forces of the burghers in the eastern division and H.M. forces. In communicating the tidings of the invasion to H.M. government, he stated that the Kafirs were "no longer the sort of enemy they were in 1819, either in the nature of their arms, or in their military skill and arrangements; they have now many muskets¶ among them, and their movements are all directed with

Sir B. D'Urban to have fulfilled this promise, since he had not scrupled to declare his conviction that "a complete and effectual reformation of our system of proceeding with the native tribes—if that could be called a system, which seems to have been guided by no fixed rules, certainly by no just one—had become absolutely necessary." He likewise admitted that "a spirit of retribution" combined with other causes to excite the marauding incursions of the Kafirs.—*Vide* Despatch, dated 28th October, 1834. Parl. Papers, June, 1835; part ii, p. 103.

¶ The extensive importation of gunpowder and fire-arms into the Cape colony, and thence into Kafirland, had previously attracted the attention of Acting-governor Lieut.-colonel T. Wade, who, in January, 1834, pointed out, in an official despatch, the danger to which the colonists were thereby exposed. Even the partial change of assagais for muskets would, he rightly predicted, make the defence of the frontier a very different thing from what

no ordinary military combination.”\* Sir Benjamin then hastened to the frontier, whither he arrived on the 20th, and immediately took command of the troops. His “disposable bayonets” he then reckoned at 1,200, beside which, he proceeded to organize 3,000 men of all descriptions, reckoning much, and with good reason, on the services of the Hottentots, whom he designated “excellent men, and rapidly trained to war, whether on foot or on horseback.” Shortly before this (31st December), Tyalie and a band of armed Kafirs had again compelled Mr. Chalmers to be the unwilling medium of conveying a statement of their wrongs to Colonel Somerset and the governor. They dictated a graphie, and, it is to be feared, only too truthful account of their wrongs and sufferings, stating in the following terms their chief grievances:—

“That there were three things which were great in Kafirland:—1st, It is a great thing to kill a chief or to wound him; 2nd, It is a great thing to take land from the Kafirs; 3rd, It is a great thing to seize the real cattle of a chief.

“That the Kafirs cannot say that their chief's cattle were beyond the boundary line, as they consider that the lawful boundary line is the Great Fish River.

“That they (the Kafirs) request payment for the killing and wounding of their chiefs, in the same way as Colonel Somerset made Eno pay 200 head of cattle for the wounding of a British officer.”

The communication terminated with overtures of peace,† which Colonel Smith as commanding officer decidedly rejected (as also a similar proposal made by Macomo) through Mr. Chalmers, who conveyed the intimation to Tyalie, on the 15th of January, some days after the kraals of the chief had been destroyed by the troops.

Mr. Chalmers says—“I read the communication of the commander twice to the chief, and after I had finished, he appeared haughtier than ever I saw him. He abused the white people, and tracing back a period of eleven years, he particularized times when herds of cattle were taken from him, and requested me to ask the governor, ‘Where is the payment of all

it had hitherto been. The total annual importation of gunpowder had increased from 29,379 lbs. in 1825, to 67,148 lbs. in 1833, of which large quantities were carried into the interior. Under the Dutch government, gunpowder could be imported only by the authorities at Cape Town. It was then sold at prime cost, on payment of a fee, varying according to circumstances. Earl Macartney confirmed these regulations; but in 1832 an order in council permitted the importation by private individuals, a practice which had been for some time previously in opera-

tion. Colonel Wade and his council proposed restrictions on the importation and sale, by licenses and stamps, and proper supervision: the ordinance was, however, disallowed by the home secretary, in June, 1834, and another substituted in its place, which proved totally ineffective.

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 130; and 30th May, 1836; p. 4.

† These overtures were suspected by Mr. Chalmers to be merely a *ruse* to gain time.

‡ Parl. Papers, July, 1837.

these cattle taken by commandoes? I do not mention small herds seized by patrols. As to restitution, I have no power to make it; but if the governor is desirous of restitution, he must come and take it where he can find it. In the mean time, I order all my people and the other Kafirs to slaughter and eat, slaughter and eat; and to-day I have no desire for corn or milk, but flesh meat alone.”‡ Soon after this the various missionaries stationed in Kaffraria fled to the colony. Notwithstanding the excited state of the people, not one of them received the slightest injury, some being especially protected by Macomo and Tyalie, others by Sutu, the “great widow” of Gaika, who exerted herself most strongly on their behalf. The Kafir chiefs, Pato, Congo, and Kama, who had been suffered to remain within the colony, evinced their loyalty by escorting thither the missionaries stationed at Wesleyville (about twenty miles beyond the Keiskamma), together with the traders who had fled thither for refuge, to the number of 100 persons. This they accomplished at the express request of the governor, and at considerable risk to themselves. Sutu likewise laboured for the protection of the traders, and so successfully that although upwards of 200 were scattered far and wide over the country of the infuriated Kafirs, only two lives were lost. Several of their converts followed the missionaries into the colony; among others, two sons of Gaika (Matua and Tenta). Jan Tzatzoe, a chief of the Gaika family, who had been in early youth the pupil of Van der Kemp, with his people, including about 400 fighting men, took part with the English. Harassing guerilla warfare continued between the troops and the Kafirs, who took refuge in the dense bush bordering the Fish River, until in the early part of February Colonel Somerset drove the invaders over that stream, and Colonel Smith expelled other parties stationed in the woody fastnesses between it and the Keiskamma. On the 19th, Captain Armstrong's

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‡ Parl. Papers, July, 1837.



post on the Kat River was attacked in great force, but without success. It was not until the latter end of March that Sir Benjamin D'Urban having completed his preparations, and disposed commissariat and ordnance stores for a month's consumption, proceeded to invade Kafirland, at the head of 3,000 men, leaving 2,000 for the defence of the frontier, expecting to finish his operations within the period named. No such speedy termination, however, awaited this most unsatisfactory war; the Kafirs, though proverbially fearless of death, were too good tacticians to allow their foe the opportunity of destroying them by thousands in an open field; since chance of what is termed "fair fighting" there could be none between practised riflemen, such as the troops, boers, and Hottentots all were, and naked barbarians, armed for the most part only with assagais. Thus, though a fearful loss of life was sustained\* by the Kafirs, it was taken by means most distressing to the manly feelings of British soldiers. For instance, Colonel Smith writes to Sir Benjamin D'Urban so early as the 18th of January—"The savage enemy has already, since the 8th of January, when I acted on the offensive, sustained a loss of 400 warriors killed, and the number of the wounded must be considerable, as the burghers fire with remarkable precision, and use the large shot, which they call *lopers*. I have, besides invading his own territory, driven Eno from his kraal (he himself only escaped by stratagem), killing two of his brothers, one of his sons, and thirty of his warriors, of whom many had fire-arms. Tyalie's kraals have also been destroyed." The attack upon Eno's kraal was made by surprise; all found were shot, the leader of the attack (Colonel Cox) having no discretionary power, but simply orders "to inflict as much punishment upon the Kafirs as possible." Eno escaped in the dress of his daughter, who, taking her father's place at the head of his men, was wounded in the shoulder, and made prisoner.†

To enter into further details of so unequal a contest would be worse than useless; it is sufficient to record its results, and a few of its most striking incidents. The movements of

\* The amount of life lost during the war is, however, now believed to have been greatly overstated.

† Her wound was carefully attended to, and she was eventually restored to her father.

‡ Despatch to Lord Glenelg, 19th June, 1835; Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 15.

§ Parl. Papers, June, 1837; p. 78.

the army, including the hastily formed levies, were many of them well planned, and executed with a precision and rapidity worthy a better cause than a mission of rapine and desolation. The attacks upon Kafir kraals, and the carrying off immense heads of cattle, afford very monotonous reading; but the leading feature of the war stands out in painful prominence, quite apart from these.

HISTORY AND DEATH OF HINTZA.—It is necessary to go back a little, rightly to appreciate the circumstances that rendered the death of this great Chief an event which even Sir Benjamin D'Urban reluctantly admitted he "would rather, perhaps, had not occurred thus."‡ From the time of the threatened irruption of Chaca, in 1827 and 1828, Hintza had been on the most friendly terms with the colony. So early as December, 1826, the London Missionary Society had requested and obtained the permission of the chief to establish a station within his territories, which they had accordingly done (Butterworth); and although Hintza himself neither was nor pretended to be a convert to Christianity, the pleadings of the missionary nevertheless frequently prevailed with him, to the prevention of war, and were clearly instrumental in producing a partial but decided change for the better among his people.§ For instance, the survivors of the wreck of the *Eole*, a French ship, cast ashore in 1830, near the Bashee River, were so humanely treated by the Kafirs, that Sir Lowry Cole in grateful acknowledgment, forwarded a number of useful presents, which were formally presented by the Rev. Stephen Kay to Hintza. The commando sent into Kaffraria in the same year, and the death of Zeeo, however, naturally excited alarm and suspicion in the mind of the Chief; but these feelings were in great measure allayed by the special assurances of good-will made him by the colonial authorities. Doubtless the various seizures of the territory of the Gaikas had renewed his distrust, yet when appealed to at the commencement of the war, 1834-'5, we find him refusing to take part, and even clearly forbidding it. In the middle of March, Sir Benjamin D'Urban states that the tribes in open and avowed hostility to the colony, and who had joined in its invasion, were those of Tyalie, Macomo, Botman, Dushani, Umhala, Zlambie, and some minor ones. In this list he does not include Hintza, but he accuses him of having re-

ceived the plundered cattle into his territory, and of being very desirous of holding off to await the result of the war, and act accordingly. He concludes by a tolerably explicit intimation that hostile proceedings will be adopted against him so soon as the border clans shall have been "disposed of."\*

With regard to the first charge brought against Hintza, it must be remembered that he ruled over a very extensive tract of country, reaching from the mouth of the Kei to its sources in the Stormberg mountains, and between it eastwards and the Bashce. Drove of cattle might easily, without his knowledge, have passed a boundary which, according to military men, 3,000 soldiers would be insufficient to guard, or he might very possibly have permitted his brother chiefs to place their property, or what they represented to be such, in a place of safety. That he should be "very desirous of holding off," is reasonable enough. He had no cause of quarrel with the colony, but he knew that his countrymen had; and since he was not sufficiently powerful to act as a mediator between the contending parties, his policy was clearly to maintain a strict neutrality, though he could not be supposed to look on without deep interest at the encroachments of the colonists, between whom and himself the sole barrier seemed about to be levelled.† Hintza's neutrality, whether real or alleged, was very displeasing to the governor, who, left to his own resources, listened, it is to be feared only too readily, to the statements of the war party among the colonists, to whom the fertile country of this chief, rich in cattle, offered a powerful motive for traducing him.‡

On the 15th Sir Benjamin D'Urban crossed the Kei, and entered Hintza's territory. On the 17th he encamped on the Gona, near the ordinary residence of the chief, who had retired up the country, and sent a message desiring him to come to the camp within five days, or hostilities would be commenced against him. Hintza not making his appearance within the stated time, war was formally declared, and on the 24th and 25th Colonel Smith penetrated into the mountains, captured two of Hintza's

brothers, very nearly surprised the great chief himself, and carried off about 10,000 head of "beautiful cattle."§ The presence of a powerful force in the heart of his country, and the rapidly extending capture of the cattle, probably forced upon Hintza a conviction of the necessity of coming to terms with the governor, from whom he had received an assurance of safe conduct for himself, and an intimation that no other person would be admitted to treat for him. On the 29th of April he came into the camp with his ordinary retinue of fifty followers, and had an immediate interview with his excellency, who demanded him "to restore" 50,000|| head of cattle and 1,000 horses, half of the so-called restoration to be made immediately, and half a year afterwards; and also to pay a fine of 600 good cattle for the two English traders murdered at the commencement of the war. The "acknowledged chief of Kafirland"¶ was also to lay "his imperative commands, and cause them to be obeyed, upon the chiefs Tyalie, Macomo," &c., instantly to cease hostilities, and deliver up to the troops all the fire-arms they might possess.

Any one acquainted with the laws and customs inherent in every feudal system, whether among Kafirs in the present century, or Celts in a former one, will see at once the injustice of the demands made upon Hintza, and understand how utterly unable he must have been to control the actions, and compel the submission of such chiefs as Macomo and Tyalie.\*\* Nevertheless, he acquiesced, and even appears to have received in silence a peculiarly galling piece of intelligence conveyed to him at the same time. The remnants of certain tribes driven from their country by Chaca, and called Fingoes, a word signifying beggars or outcasts, had sought refuge in the territories of Hintza, and settled as servants among his people. The Kafirs considered them as their inferiors, called them "dogs," an epithet which the chiefs frequently apply to their own people. They did not treat them as slaves—for slavery, as we understand the word, does not exist among the Kafirs; but they behaved to them with so much harshness, that the Fingoes, many

\* Despatch, dated 19th March, 1835.

† Hintza was much in the position of a man watching the burning of his neighbours' houses, and fearing that his own turn will come next.

‡ Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 67. § *Idem*, p. 52.

|| No less than 20,000 head of cattle had been captured in Hintza's territory, during the five days which preceded this interview.

¶ Thus termed in Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 55.

\*\* *Idem* note to p. 66.



of whom had heard at the mission-stations favourable accounts of the British nation, came in large bodies to the governor when he encamped on the Gona, and requested to be received into the colony. Their request was granted without hesitation by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who considered that receiving them would obviously assist his measures in the present war, and would provide the farmers with "a plentiful supply of excellent hired servants," while their subsistence would bring no burden on the colony, as they brought with them between 20,000 and 30,000 head of cattle, many herds of goats, with corn and other food, and might at once be placed upon and commence the cultivation of the country between the Fish River and the lower Keiskamma.\* Thus nearly 17,000 of Hintza's most valuable subjects were to be taken from him, together with any amount of Kafir property they might contrive to carry away; and further to reward their theft and treachery, they were to be placed on the territory wrenched from the Kafirs, against whom they were "moreover well disposed to fight." Hintza and his people, Sir Benjamin D'Urban considered, had well merited this privation, "in addition to the other chastisements prepared for them."

The motives which induced Hintza to acquiesce in the terms dictated to him, were probably much the same as those that led Gaika, sixteen years before, to form another so-called treaty with Lord Charles Somerset. Each chief was, for the purpose of the time being, assumed to possess powers quite foreign to his actual position, and required to exercise them whether he would or not. The chief remained in the British camp as a hostage for the performance of the conditions stipulated, and was joined by his principal son Kreili, and his brother Bookoo. Up to the third day of his sojourn, Hintza's stay was perfectly voluntary, he being expressly told that he was free to depart; but in the course of that day's march news arrived that the Kafirs were massacring the Fingoes. This the governor presumed to be instigated in some mode or other by Hintza, who was forthwith informed, that having broken the treaty, he had altered his position, and that he and all who had accompanied him, were to be held responsible "until every Fingo

was out of their country. Under this impression of personal fear, Hintza despatched speedy messengers to his people to cease further violence against the Fingoes, which were immediately obeyed."†

Two days after this, Hintza was compelled to lay his commands on all the beligerent chiefs, to cease hostilities; but in spite of the previous threat of Sir Benjamin D'Urban in the Fingo affair, that "if he found any subterfuge in the message they sent, he would hang Hintza and Bookoo themselves on the tree under which they were sitting,"‡ the former privately added to his ostensible communication the laconic hint, "Tell Macomo and Tyalie to take care of themselves, for I am fast."§ Five days had been the time given for the payment of the amount of cattle required; this time having elapsed, Hintza was told that certain conditions of the treaty were yet unfulfilled, and that he would be held responsible. He replied that his people had not yet obeyed him, but that they would do so if he appeared among them supported by British troops. Whether he made this proposal in the hope of finding some means of escape, or whether the idea subsequently suggested itself to him, it is now impossible to discover. The governor thought fit to comply with it, and on the 10th of May, Hintza, accompanied by Colonel Smith and a strong detachment, and leaving his son and brother as hostages in the camp, proceeded towards the River Bashee, leading the party to the recent track of numerous cattle. At 12 o'clock on the night of the 11th, they recommenced their march, and continued till eight o'clock next morning, it being evident that the road suggested by Hintza was really that by which the cattle from all the kraals in the neighbourhood had been driven away. At this time the chief began to manifest great anxiety, and at breakfast said to Colonel Smith, "What have the cattle done that you want them? or why must I see my subjects deprived of them?" On reaching the mouth of the Kebaka, the track of the cattle divided, some having been driven up a "stupendous mountain," the other up a very high, abrupt, steep, woody hill. Hintza advised Colonel Smith to follow the track up the hill, which was accordingly done, and the party advanced

\* Parl. Papers, May, 1836; pp. 31, 37.

† *Idem*, p. 18.

‡ *Vide* Letter of Dr. Murray, who accompanied

Sir Benjamin D'Urban. — *Commercial Advertiser*, February 20th, 1836.

§ Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 33.

by a narrow path, occasionally passing through the cleft of the rock. When they had nearly accomplished the ascent, Hintza, who was well mounted, attempted to escape by riding off at full gallop, down a gradual descent of land to the river. The guards called out, "Look, Colonel, he is off!" Colonel Smith spurred on his horse at full speed to overtake the fugitive, and coming near him snapped two pistols without effect. Twice during this fearful chase his pursuer succeeded in striking Hintza on the head, first with the butt-end of his pistol, and afterwards by flinging it at him. At length, after a hard gallop of nearly a mile-and-a-half, Colonel Smith gained upon the chief sufficiently to seize him by the kaross (Kafir cloak), unhorse him, and endeavoured to ride over him before he could disengage an assagai from his bundle; but this intention was frustrated by his inability to govern his horse, which rode away with him, while Hintza rose and ran off with great speed, closely followed by one of the guides, to whom Colonel Smith called out, "Fire on him, Southey." The order was obeyed, Southey wounded the chief slightly in the leg, and afterwards shot him through the back. Hintza fell headlong forward, but springing up again, he precipitated himself down a kloof by the Kebaka, where he was followed by Lieutenant Balfour, Colonel Smith's aid-de-camp, and Southey, who again fired, and this time with full effect, for the greatest chief in Kafirland fell down dead into the Kebaka. Nor does this illustration of the horrors of civilized warfare in the nineteenth century end here. Hintza's dead body was lifted out of the water to be—not buried—but *mutilated*; the corpse was flung down again, as if it had been the carcase of a wild beast, and the ears carried away, and *salted*\* as glorious trophies. The slaying of a man already desperately and repeatedly wounded, is defended on the ground of his endeavour to throw an assagai, his refusal to surrender, and the danger of an attempt at a rescue by the Kafirs. Colonel Smith dwells strongly on the necessity that had existed for preventing the escape of Hintza, and writing to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, says, "suppose he had escaped from me, what was I to have said to your excellency? the mark of disgrace and dishonour would have been stamped on a brow where heretofore it had not dared to sit." The indignities

\* Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 13.

committed on the body, and the leaving it a prey to carrion, he passes over in silence.

The above particulars are chiefly taken from Colonel Smith's account of the matter; the actual deathstroke he did not arrive in time to witness; those who did, described it very differently, and the communications made on the subject to the colonial secretary, Lord Glenelg, were so unsatisfactory as to draw from him the following remarks. After commenting on the peculiar position of Hintza, his lordship says—

"I will not pause to inquire whether Hintza was justly detained in your camp as a prisoner, or whether he was really liable to pay with his life the penalty of attempting to escape from the detachment which accompanied him. All this being conceded, there yet remains the question, not hitherto solved, nor, as far as I can perceive, even discussed. He was slain when he had no longer the means of resistance, but covered with wounds, and vainly attempting to conceal his person in the water, into which he had plunged as a refuge from his pursuers. Why the last wound was inflicted, and why this unhappy man, regarded with an attachment almost idolatrous by his people, was not seized by the numerous armed men, who had reached his place of concealment, has never yet been explained. \* \* \* It is said that Hintza refused to surrender, but if the fact be so, of what importance was the refusal of a wounded, helpless, isolated man?"

"It is stated to me, however, on evidence which it is impossible to receive without serious attention, that Hintza repeatedly cried for mercy; that the Hottentots present granted the boon, and abstained from killing him; that this office was then undertaken by Mr. Southey, and that then the dead body of the fallen chief was basely and inhumanly mutilated."—Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 67.

At the desire of the secretary of state an inquiry was instituted in the colony, into the circumstances connected with the death of Hintza. The evidence adduced was not made public, but its results are stated by Lord Glenelg to have led him to consider Hintza as having been, if not the fomentor of the invasion, at least engaged in a secret confederacy with its authors, and therefore responsible for the calamity in which he and his people had been involved. "The mutilation of the body," he adds, "is indeed too clearly proved, but the fact has not been brought home to any person."† Concluding this painful episode, we return to the history of the war itself, still far from its termination, notwithstanding the proclamation issued by the governor on the 10th of May, in which, after setting forth the *unprovoked* invasion of the colony, and the alleged defeat, chastisement, and dispersion of the belligerent chiefs and their

† Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 270.



tribes, he announces his intention of "removing these treacherous and irreclaimable savages to a safer distance," by extending the eastern boundary of the colony to the right bank of the river Kei, for ever expelling Macomo and his allies from their native land, and treating them as enemies whenever they should be found therein.

The numerous erroneous statements contained in this proclamation are sufficiently glaring. At this very time Sir Benjamin D'Urban was anxiously desiring to make peace with Macomo and Tyalie, and to gain their consent to their banishment across the Kei. Colonel Cox was instructed to endeavour to obtain an interview with the brothers, but they had received Hintza's warning, and positively refused to come to the British camp. Having been eight years on the frontier, Colonel Cox knew Macomo and Tyalie too well to fear treachery on their part; he, therefore, did not scruple to obtain the desired meeting by placing himself entirely in their power.

The gallant officer was well received by the chiefs, who came forward and shook hands with him in the most friendly manner possible, said they were very thankful for the confidence he had reposed in them, and the pains he had taken to make peace, but that they could not accept it on the terms offered. The people would not allow it; they had resolved to die in their own country.

Thus terminated this conference; Colonel Cox, with his single European, and two Hotentot companions, departed from the presence of the chiefs, and about 100 armed Kafirs, all of whom must have been well aware of the importance of taking possession of the person of a British officer of high rank. Yet, though he offered them peace only on conditions to which they thought death preferable, not a threat, not a word of insult escaped these "treacherous and irreclaimable savages." They treated him with the respect and courtesy his trust in them deserved, both parties being in happy ignorance of the miserable scene enacted some few hours before on the banks of the distant Kebaka.

After the death of Hintza, Colonel Smith marched rapidly across the Bashee, to the Umtata River, seized some thousands of fine cattle, and carried them off, together with about 1,000 Fingoes, to the British camp. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, after forming another treaty with Kreili, nearly similar

to that entered into with his father, suffered the chief to depart, and, after much solicitation, his uncle, Bookoo, was likewise released. The governor then returned to Cape Town, leaving Colonels Smith and Somerset to terminate the war as best they might.

Weeks dragged on to months, an enormous daily expenditure was incurred by the British, but poorly compensated by the seizure of oxen, and the wholesale destruction of villages. Still Macomo, sheltered amid the fastnesses of the beautiful Amatola mountains, showed no sign of submission, but continued to maintain a guerilla warfare with the troops, until their horses, crippled with fatigue, became daily less capable of combating a foe to whom a night's march of sixty miles was little more than healthful and accustomed exercise. The proclamation declared the Kafirs for ever banished from Kafirland; but, so far from this, they kept up frequent marauding expeditions along the old colonial boundary, and, during one of the numerous skirmishes which took place, they cut off to a man a detachment under Lieutenant Baillie. The months of July and August passed away, until at length the governor perceiving that the British were losing ground, desired Colonel Cox to seek another conference with the Kafir chiefs, and explain to them the modified terms it was now found necessary to offer them, their expulsion beyond the Kei being manifestly impracticable.

The chiefs who, before the death of Hintza, had been restrained by their people from trusting to the assurances of safety held forth to induce them to come in person to the British camp, were not likely to evince increased confidence three months afterwards; once more, therefore, Colonel Cox, with two or three attendants, went to meet Macomo, who received him at the head of 6,000 warriors. During the long conference which ensued, Macomo repeated very significantly, "Who made the war? We did not begin the war." Colonel Cox considering this a very irritating question, did not discuss it; his object was to bring about peace. In this he succeeded, and on the 17th of September, 1835, a treaty was signed, by which the chiefs and their people agreed to become subjects of the king of Great Britain, and to deliver up all the muskets in their possession; the governor on his part promising to grant certain accurately defined territories to the chiefs. The minor details of the treaty, and the various

contradictory enactments involved therein, need not be dwelt upon, as the British government annulled the whole arrangement in time to prevent the evils that must inevitably have resulted from a system calculated to annihilate the authority of the chiefs, without substituting any sufficient government in its stead.

Before the reversal of the steps taken by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the confederate chiefs had, however, sworn allegiance to the crown of Britain, within the newly-annexed territory, called the Adelaide Province. The ceremony is represented as having been a very impressive one. Colonel Smith appeared in military pomp, accompanied by several ladies and numerous spectators; Macomo came attended by upwards of twelve hundred cavalry, and his manly bearing, together with the fine person of his brother Tyalie, did not pass unacknowledged even by the naturally prejudiced beholders. Colonel Smith, in addressing the elder chief, said, "Macomo, I have admired your character as a soldier in the bush; you have been a bold and determined enemy, and I have every confidence in the sincerity of your attachment to my king and governor."\*

Thus terminated a bloody, costly, and most unsatisfactory war; Sir Benjamin D'Urban, writing to Lord Glenelg, summed up its chief results very briefly:—"In the course of the commissioners' progress in the census of the tribes of Gaika and Zlambie, they have ascertained that their loss during our operations against them, has amounted to 4,000† of their warriors (or fighting men), and among these many captains; ours, fortunately, has not in the whole amounted to 100,‡ and of these, only two officers. There have been taken from them also, besides the conquest and alienation of their country, about 60,000 head of cattle, almost all their goats, their habitations everywhere destroyed, and their gardens and corn-fields laid waste. They have been, therefore, chastised, not extremely, but perhaps sufficiently."§ In this cold, hard summary of a fearful amount of suffering, the number of women and children shot by the troops in mistake for men, and of those who perished of sheer fatigue and hunger, is not mentioned, indeed it would be vain to attempt estimating it; yet, without this addition, the misery

inflicted upon the unhappy frontier settlers, during the ten days' ravage of the frontier, was surely repaid a hundred fold. It is not that the sufferings of the Albany and Somerset settlers can or ought to be lightly regarded. The plain unvarnished, but most pathetic statements contained in the official documents, of a large and fertile tract of country desolated in little more than a week, as if by a locust cloud, and of women rendered widowed and homeless by the fury of barbarians, cannot be read without deep emotion, the more so because these very people had been comparatively innocent of the wrongs which had occasioned the war. I speak advisedly in saying comparatively innocent, for they cannot be acquitted of blame in taking possession of territory to which no government could give them an equitable, though it might a legal title. The right of conquest, let its military advocates say what they will in its favour, is simply the law of the strongest, "they may take who have the power, and they may keep who can." The question of how the Kafirs themselves first acquired possession, is not to the point; we found them in quiet and undisputed occupation, and the allegation of their having previously driven away the Hottentots to lands, afterwards wrenched from these latter by European aggression, is no more excuse for our punishing the present generation of Kafirs for the sins of their forefathers, by driving them back among other tribes, as fierce marauders or miserable fugitives (fingoes), than there would be for their avenging the wrongs committed by our predecessors on the Hottentots, by the total destruction of the colony.

Fair purchase is the only honest mode of acquiring territory; in the end it will prove the cheapest. There is need even when this principle is admitted (which unhappily is yet far from being the case) of much staunch integrity on the part of the buyer. A civilized people purchasing land from a barbarous one, stands precisely in the position of a man bargaining for property with a child who is but partially acquainted with its value; and it therefore behoves the older and wiser party to hold so evenly the balance, that the child, when come to years of discretion, shall acknowledge that he has been justly dealt with.

\* Colonel Cox, when questioned by the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1836, concurred in this opinion.—Parl. Papers, August, 1836; p. 348.

† According to Sir A. Stockenström, the actual

number did not exceed 200!—Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 13.

‡ Including the colonists who perished during the December invasion. § Parl. Papers, May, 1836; p. 89



No such reasoning as this appears to have had any weight with the majority of the colonial authorities of that day. The few scruples that might have been entertained were easily subdued by the desire of including within the limits of the colony the beautiful and fertile regions of Kafirland, in which it was deemed there would be abundant room for European farmers, notwithstanding the traets which it was found necessary to reserve for the Kafirs, whose unconquerable determination to die if need be where they were born, had defeated Sir Benjamin D'Urban's first intention of expelling them beyond the Kei. Thus a war, which had cost the imperial treasury nearly £250,000; interrupted a newly-created but rapidly increasing trade, in European commodities, of £30,000 per annum;\* broken up all the mission stations, formed with so much labour and cost in the Kafir country; and which a committee of the House of Commons had pronounced, after a protracted and most laborious investigation, to have originated in a systematic disregard of native rights, was to terminate in a fresh seizure of native territory. Nor was it only the border chiefs who were to be mulcted of their finest possessions. Kreili being quite unable to furnish the amount of cattle required by the treaty of May, 1835, in consequence of the number carried away by the Fingoes and the troops, and likewise of an extraordinary mortality which had subsequently occurred among the herds of his people, was compelled, in December, to enter into an arrangement with the governor to forfeit instead a large and very valuable tract of country considerably beyond the Kei.†

REVERSAL OF THE D'URBAN SYSTEM, AND RESTORATION OF THE TERRITORY CEDED BY THE GAIKAS AND KREILI.—The colonists, or at least the majority of them, applauded the governor's proceedings to the skies. The home authorities, and the English public in general, took a different view of the matter, and saw loss and disgrace, where the despatches held forth nothing but gain and glory.

The colonial secretary (Lord Glenelg)‡ on learning from Sir Benjamin D'Urban

the first tidings of the war, the exterminating spirit in which it had been carried on, and the new province acquired by it, required full details as to the causes which had led to the invasion of the colony, before deciding upon the retention or restoration of Kafirland, in which, meanwhile, he specially forbade the granting of farms, or the construction of works of any description. At length, after vainly waiting in the hope of receiving from the governor the desired information, Lord Glenelg, in a despatch, dated 26th of December, 1835, declared that the governor had omitted to supply any clear and comprehensive explanation of the causes which had provoked the irruption of the Kafirs into the colony; and that, deeming a correct understanding of the relations between the colonists and the Kafirs for several years past absolutely indispensable, in order to form a right judgment on the events of the year then closing, he had been led to the study of a large mass of documents, of which some were accessible to the public at large, and others had been brought under his inspection by the voluntary zeal of individuals. The result of these inquiries is thus stated—

"The conclusion, though exhibited in a few general terms, is the fruit of a long and extensive investigation. I abide by it with the greater confidence, because it has been forced upon me by proofs, of which I would gladly have resisted the pressure, but yielding to the conviction which has thus been impressed on my mind, I am constrained to admit that in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists and the public authorities of the colony, through a long series of years, \* \* \* the Kafirs had an ample justification of the war into which they rushed, with such fatal imprudence, at the close of the last year. This justification rests on two distinct grounds:—First, The Kafirs had to resent, and endeavoured justly though impotently to avenge, a series of encroachments upon them, which had terminated in the assumption by Great Britain, first of the dominion, and then of the exclusive possession of all the country between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma.

"To effect this object we commenced by ascribing to the chieftain Gaika an authority which he did not possess, and then proceeded to punish him for not exercising that imaginary power for our benefit. We held him responsible for the acts of his and our common enemy, and exacted from him and his people a forfeiture of their land, as a penalty for the retaliation made by the chief Zlambie, after the invasion of his country by Gaika and ourselves. We forced on our

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1837; p. 74.

† Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 15.

‡ Lord Glenelg became secretary of state for the colonies in the year 1835. As Mr. Charles Grant, he had become favourably known from his administration of East India affairs; his public life, as well as

private character, were distinguished by rectitude, humanity, and a just appreciation of the rights of the coloured races, whether actual subjects of the British crown, or merely by position brought into contact and collision with European colonists in the transmarine portions of the empire.

ally a treaty, which, according to the usages of the Kafir nation, he had no authority to conclude, and proceeding on that treaty, we ejected the other Kafir chiefs, who were no parties to it, from their country. The compact thus made was on our side repeatedly infringed. Of the country of which the dominion was acquired, in order that it might be placed as a barrier between the two nations, and which, with that avowed object, had been specially devoted to be thenceforward a neutral and uncultivated waste, extensive tracts were speedily occupied, partly by British and partly by Hottentot settlements.\* The Kafirs, imitating our example, endeavoured to resume the possession of some part of their lost country. They were at times driven back at the point of the bayonet, and either shot or flogged if captured to the westward of the Keiskamma. At other times their residence within that frontier was permitted, if not encouraged. But as often as the fluctuating policy of the colonial government led to the disapproval of this indulgence, they were again driven back in large bodies into their remaining lands, with all the rigour of military execution against their persons and property. Harassed by this long series of aggressions, and the victims of successive changes in the opinions and conduct of the local authorities, the immediate motives of their invasion, in December, 1834, would not seem very difficult to be discovered. . . . The Kafirs were stimulated to this war by the belief that they had been unjustly despoiled of their country, and by the hope of regaining possession of it. I am compelled to conclude that they wanted nothing to the completeness of their right except the power to render the assertion of it effectual."

Lord Glenelg considered that the frontier system afforded the Kafirs a second apology for their irruption into the colony.

"They may indeed have been, nor can I doubt that they were, accustomed to harass the inhabitants with their depredations; but driven, as they had been, from their ancient and lawful possessions [so far as the British were concerned], confined within a comparatively narrow space, where pasturage for their cattle could not be readily found, and urged to revenge and desperation by the systematic injustice of which they had been the victims, I am compelled to embrace, however reluctantly, the conclusion, that they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain. . . . I am further constrained to record my dissent from the unfavourable estimate which you have formed of the Kafir character.† Referring to the great mass of evidence which it has been my duty to examine, I find it replete with proofs of a directly opposite tendency. I learn that among this proscribed race, Christian missionaries have passed many

years respected, honoured, and secure. It is placed beyond dispute, that at the very moment when the countrymen of those missionaries were harassing Kafirland with incessant patrols and commandoes, the teachers of religion, relying implicitly on the honour and good faith of the tribes, continued to receive kindness and protection.

"In the midst of all the calamities incident to their situation in our immediate neighbourhood, the Kafirs, under the guidance of their Christian ministers, have built places of public worship; have formed various congregations of proselytes, or of learners; have erected school-houses, and sent their children thither for instruction. In the meanwhile no inconsiderable advance has been made in agriculture, and in commerce. A trade, variously estimated, but not amounting to less than £30,000 per annum, in the purchase of European commodities, had been established on the frontier; and as many as 200 British traders were living far beyond the boundaries of the colony, protected only by the integrity and humanity of the uncivilized natives.

"To such a people the character of 'irreclaimable savages' cannot, with justice, be assigned. Nor indeed, even if well founded, would this reproach come with a good grace from us, unless it can be asserted that we have, as a government, fairly brought to the test of experiment, whether they can or cannot be reclaimed."

Adverting to the spirit in which the hostilities against the Kafirs had been conducted, Lord Glenelg writes:—

"Amongst many passages illustrative of the manner in which the war was conducted by the British troops, I select for illustration the following, from a letter addressed by Colonel Smith to yourself on the 11th of June. 'The enemy, although his traces were numerous, fled so rapidly, that few were killed, and only three shots fired at the troops. The whole of the country has been most thoroughly traversed; upwards of 1,200 huts, new and old, have been burnt; immense stores of corn in every direction destroyed; 215 head of cattle of all sorts captured; several horses, and nearly 2,000 goats, have fallen into our hands. The women were very numerous; and I therefore caused them to be amply supplied with beef and biscuit, and dismissed them with the assurance that the atrocities of their husbands had made them forfeit their homes, and that they must move over the Kye. They all stated that they were anxious to do so. It is most gratifying to know that the savages, being the unprovoked aggressors, have brought down all the misery with which they are now visited upon the heads of themselves and their families; and that the great day of retribution, and the punishment of the unprovoked atrocities committed by these murderous savages on our colonists, had arrived.'

"Reading these statements at this distance from

\* In May, 1831, Viscount Goderich, then H.M. secretary of state, considered it advisable that the neutral, or so-called "ceded" territory, should be opened for settlement by Englishmen and Hottentots only; that no inland grants should be made until the whole line of frontier, from the sea to the northern extremity, shall have been allocated, and that the lands should be sold at a given sum for the acre, with a peremptory reservation of forfeiture in case of the introduction of *slave* or compulsory labour. His lordship hoped that such measures would "tend to

the greater security of the colony against the future inroads of the Kafir tribes, and contribute also, under judicious arrangements, to the civilization of those people."—Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 57.

† *Vide* proclamation of 10th of May, 1836, cited at p. 80; and Sir B. D'Urban's despatch of 19th of June, 1836, in which he likens the Kafirs to wolves, that when caught young may be brought to an appearance of tameness, to be thrown off so soon as their "instinctive thirst" for blood and ravage should be brought into play.



the scene of action, I must own that I am affected by them in a manner the most remote from that which the writer contemplated. In the civilized warfare of Europe, this desolation of an enemy's country, not in aid of any military operations, nor for the security of the invading force, but simply and confessedly as an act of vengeance, has rarely occurred, and the occurrence of it has been invariably followed by universal reprobation. I doubt, indeed, whether the history of modern Europe affords an example even of a single case, in which, without some better pretext than that of mere retribution, any invaded people were ever subjected to the calamities which Colonel Smith here describes: the loss of their food, the spoiling of their cattle, the burning of their dwellings, the expulsion of their wives and families from their homes, the confiscation of their property, and the forfeiture of their native country. I am, of course, aware that the laws of civilized nations cannot be rigidly applied in our contests with barbarous men; for those laws presuppose a reciprocity, which cannot subsist between parties of whom the one is ignorant of the usages, maxims, and religion of the other. But the great principles of morality are of immutable and universal obligation, and from them are deduced the laws of war. Of these laws the first and cardinal rule relating to a state of hostility is, that the belligerent must inflict no injury on his enemy which is not indispensably requisite to ensure the safety of him by whom it is inflicted, or to promote the attainment of the legitimate ends of the warfare. Whether we contend with a civilized or a barbarous enemy, the gratuitous aggravation of the horrors of war, on the plea of vengeance or retribution, or on any similar grounds, is alike indefensible. Now I must confess my inability to discover what danger could be averted, or what useful object could be attained, by the desolation of the Kafir country, which Colonel Smith has described. The inhabitants had been taught the utter hopelessness of a contest with the British force. They had learnt that, for their injuries, whatever they might be, the redress was not in their own power. As the conviction of their helplessness was thus forced upon them, forbearance in the use of our irresistible means of destruction became still more clearly the paramount duty of the leaders of H.M. forces."

His lordship proceeds to explain the course which H.M. government had resolved upon taking, under the peculiarly difficult position in which they had been placed by the extreme measures of the colonial authorities:—

"First, For the reasons already given, I cannot admit that the British sovereignty over the country between the Fish River and the Keiskamma rests on any solid foundation of international law or justice; yet the relinquishment of that dominion is surrounded by difficulties so many and inextricable, as entirely to forbid such a surrender. It is needless to enumerate or to describe these impediments. The restitution of invaded rights in this, as in many other cases, would involve injuries more formidable than it could remedy.

"Secondly, The claim of sovereignty over the new province, bounded by the Keiskamma and the Kye [or Kei], must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war, in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original

justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party. Even if there were the most powerful motives of apparent expediency to recommend this extension of H.M. dominions, which I cannot allow, yet his Majesty would never consent to consult expediency at the expense of justice. You will, therefore, prepare the public mind in the Cape colony for the relinquishment of the newly-acquired province, by announcing that the British occupation of it is temporary and provisional only, and will be resigned by the end of the year 1836. I fix that date, as it will afford a sufficient interval for making those arrangements which will be necessary to enable the colony to recede with safety from the limits assigned to it by your proclamation.

"I place this resolution on the ground of justice, because I should be most unwilling to appear to act on such an occasion on any subordinate motive. But if the conquest could be maintained with indisputable right, I should hold the impolicy of abiding by it equally clear. In this I have the misfortune to differ from you, and I must, therefore, distinctly explain the grounds of that difference.

"You state that this accession of territory will be some indemnity against the expenses of the war. To the assumption involved in this statement, that an enlargement of the British dominion in Southern Africa is a national advantage, I feel myself unable to assent. The territory of the Kafirs, I am well aware, is in itself a fertile and salubrious region, contrasting but too favourably with the prevailing sterility of our own possessions. But the great evil of the Cape colony consists in its magnitude; in the vast space for which it encroaches upon the continent, and the consequent extent of its boundary. We are thus brought into contact with tribes numerous and warlike, and a scale of establishment is required, both civil and military, extensive beyond all proportion to the number and wealth of the inhabitants. In a country containing more square miles than the whole of the British Islands, we have a population of about 150,000 souls. To connect these dispersed settlers by roads, and other communications, to bring them under the protection of magistrates and officers of police, to afford them the benefit of prompt administration of justice, and to shield them by military defence, are duties incumbent on the government, but duties which cannot be performed without imposts so heavy as to excite universal and apparently just complaints, and which, even with such imposts, have never been performed but most defectively. Whence the necessary revenues for defraying the additional establishments, civil and military, are to be extracted, is a question to which your consideration does not appear to have yet been given, and to which I have directed my own in vain."

"But it is said that the defence of the new frontier will be more economical than that of the Keiskamma. Much as I am disposed to rely upon your professional judgment, I must own that upon that point I feel no little hesitation in acquiescing in the accuracy of your calculations. I shall not scruple to explain unreservedly the nature of my difficulties, convinced that you will estimate them with candour, and that you will afford me the benefit of your

\* Sir B. D'Urban had in a previous despatch proposed a civil establishment for the newly conquered country, which alone involved an outlay of £16,000 per annum.

experience and professional skill for the more full elucidation of the subject.

"It is evident that the new frontier, being much more distant, is therefore less accessible from the interior than the old. It embraces a larger area, and would therefore seem to demand a longer line of defences. In the absence of any exact military survey of both, the general presumption must seem to be, that in proportion as the frontier is protracted it becomes more readily assailable. Pushing further forward into Afriac, the new line of defences would bring us into contact with new tribes of uncivilized men. Amongst these the exiled Kafirs must be received as intruders, and will form a band of desperate adventurers, at one time seeking subsistence by plunder in the colony, at another provoking war on its borders. Thus we shall again be brought into contact on a new line with African warfare in all its ferocity. New enemies will be acquired; new contests must be achieved; a new frontier must be sought, and we should be engaged in a series of conquests desolating to Africa and ruinous to ourselves. It would be a melancholy acquisition to exchange the neighbourhood of men who have been taught to fear our power, and in some degree to practise our social arts, and to adopt our religion, for that of fresh hordes of barbarians, who, however inaccessible to the arts of peace, may yet prove no unapt scholars under our tuition in the art of war. Nor is it possible to contemplate without emotion, the extinction of the churches which had been planted in Africa, and of the prospects of diffusing Christianity and the other blessings of civilized life in that portion of the globe.

"You state, however, that for the defence of the Keiskamma frontier, the regular troops must be augmented to about 3,000 rank and file, while the increase might be considerably less if the Kye be taken as the boundary.

"Now, even if on a careful and complete survey it should be established, in a military sense, that the Kye is a better boundary than the Keiskamma, still this argument of comparative ease and cheapness of defence may be open to question. Of two lines of defence, the one may by nature be stronger than the other, and consequently, if regarded simply in that view, without reference to other circumstances, may be pronounced the less expensive. But other circumstances may far more than counterbalance the difference. If the stronger frontier comprehend the larger extent of territory; if it be the more remote from the main strength and body of the colony; more remote from the resources on which it must, in case of attack, rely for supplies of all kinds; for men, for provisions, for munitions of war; if in all these respects, therefore, it be in fact the weaker of the two, and if at the same time it be more exposed to attack; if, for example, it should gather and dam up along its whole line a raging mass of savages, tormented by the narrowness of their limits, by famine, and by revenge, and threatening every moment to break over the mound; if these should be the relative circumstances of the two defences, it is very easy to perceive, that with all its natural advantages, the stronger may at the same time prove not only the more costly, but also the more difficult to maintain, and, therefore, be less secure. In truth, however, this argument of comparative expense proceeds on the assumption that the security of the

colony can be assured only by having a force of regular troops, numerically large enough to man the whole frontier. But this, whatever line of defence be chosen, is obviously impossible. The army of England would not suffice to man, in the proper sense of the word, our colonial frontier from sea to sea. For the defence of such a frontier some regular troops are necessary, and the number already supplied is probably all that in justice to the people of this country, and to the great demands of the empire, ought to be allowed for that object. The further military defence must be sought in the enrolment of a local militia force. But even this force in its best state, and in conjunction with a sufficient number of regulars, can never be our exclusive reliance. The surest of all defences, or rather the only sure defence, is to be found in a wise system of border policy. Without this the strongest frontier that nature or art can supply is miserably weak, and with it the Keiskamma is as secure as the Kye. It cannot be too often or too importunately pressed on our conviction as a plain practical truth, that the safety of the colony, which after all is the first object, is to be derived from observing in our dealings with the frontier tribes the most rigid justice, respect for their feelings and prejudices, regard for their real interests, conciliatory kindness when it can be properly shown, and above all, an unwearied anxiety to diffuse among them the blessings of education and of Christian knowledge. Colonies which it is attempted to maintain in the neighbourhood of savage tribes on any other principles, must either be destroyed by that vicinity, or be upheld at a cost utterly disproportionate to their real value.

"It remains to consider what course is to be pursued towards the people with whom we have been brought into contact. And first, in reference to the Fingoes:—

"I must frankly confess, that I am quite unable to perceive the slightest accuracy in the comparison which you have instituted between the liberation of these people and the great national act of negro emancipation. In the one case we liberated the slaves of our enemies at the cost of their owners, in the other case we liberated the slaves of British subjects at the cost of the national revenue. Still the act having been done, is irreversible. \* \* \*

"With regard to the tribes which were driven from those lands, and to those against which our hostilities had been waged, H.M. government cannot think it consistent either with justice or with sound policy, that they should be exiled from their ancient possessions between the Kye and the Keiskamma.

"The restoration of the Kafirs to the conquered territory must, however, be accompanied and preceded by such arrangements as will assign to each tribe its own proper limits.

"For the due regulation of the future relations between the Kafir tribes and the colonists, as well as for other purposes of local convenience, his Majesty proposes immediately to appoint a lieutenant-governor of the eastern districts of the colony. On the lieutenant-governor will be devolved the administration of the executive government within the boundaries to be assigned to his command. It is further proposed to appoint a civil commissioner, or protector of the native tribes, who shall reside within the colony, probably at the seat of the lieutenant-governor's residence. To this officer will be en-



trusted the duty of protecting the borderers on either side against mutual aggressions. It will be his office to inform himself of every inroad and act of plunder committed against the colonists, and of every outrage or injury offered to the Kafirs; to investigate the truth of every allegation of that nature; to report all such occurrences to the lieutenant-governor; and to superintend in person the execution of all measures which may be necessary for obtaining redress; and to take charge of all cases in which the subjects of native chiefs are brought before the colonial courts of justice. It is also intended to appoint a government agent to reside in Kafirland, with the requisite powers to make him an efficient guardian over the rights as well of the natives as of European traders.

"All communications with the Kafirs on what, in the absence of a more simple word, may be termed international subjects, must be carried on through the government agent for Kafirland.

"The following is a statement of the principal rules which it is intended to prescribe to the lieutenant-governor and civil commissioner, for the guidance of their conduct:—

"1. A treaty, fixing the boundaries of the colony, must be made in writing, in English and in the Kafir language, and, being explained to each border chief, must be signed or attested by each. Copies of this treaty must be delivered to each of the contracting chiefs.

"2. A separate treaty must be made, in the English and in the native languages, with the chief of every tribe to which a portion of territory is assigned within the British dominions; defining the limits of his allocation, the degree of his responsibility, and the nature of his relations with the British government; and all other particulars admitting of specification. A copy of this treaty in the native tongue must be preserved by the chief.

"3. A separate treaty must be made in the native and English languages with the chief of every tribe in alliance with us, or in any degree under our protection; defining also in each case all that can be specified in such an instrument. A copy of the treaty must be preserved by each chief.

"4. The rules of mutual restitution, and those which relate to the prevention of inroads, and the redress of the injury occasioned by them, must be particularized in each of the above treaties.

"5. The responsibility of particular kraals, or villages, for the acts of individual Kafirs, must no longer be enforced. But

"6. The chiefs must be called upon to bind themselves to make restitution for plundered cattle, on sufficient proof of the reality of the theft. They must be left to detect the offenders, or to indemnify themselves at the expense of the tribe collectively for such losses as they may sustain by being required to make these compensations. In other words, we must look to the chiefs, and to them alone, and must no longer take upon ourselves to make reprisals upon the people. The chiefs to enter into securities, or pledges, of such a nature as may be deemed sufficient, and not inconvenient for the due fulfilment of these stipulations.

\* Despatch from Lord Glenelg to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 26th of December, 1835; *Parl. Papers*, May, 1836; pp. 69 to 79. The unavoidable length (ten folio pages) of this despatch, prevents its complete insertion, beside which many of the facts therein dwelt upon, have been already noted in the

"7. Fairs for the interchange of commodities should be re-established at convenient places on the frontier.

"8. The wounding or killing a Kafir, or otherwise injuring his person or property, will be made liable to the same punishment as if the sufferer were one of H.M. subjects. This of course would not apply to times of actual war, nor prevent the compulsory removal back into their own territory of any Kafirs who might reappear within the boundaries with purposes apparently hostile or fraudulent, or in opposition to any existing laws. No violence must, however, be used in effecting their removal, which is not strictly required by the necessity of the case, and for the effective execution of the service.

"9. No European or Hottentot, or any others but Kafirs, to be located or allowed to settle east of the Great Fish River. Those Hottentots who were placed in the ceded territory prior to the late war, and all Christian teachers, are exempted from this rule. I may observe here, that in the above rules, under the general name of Kafirs, I include the Fingoes.

"In aid of these general rules, it is proposed to submit, for the approbation of parliament, a law to enable our colonial tribunals to take cognizance of and to punish offences committed by British subjects within the Kafir territory, in the same manner as if they had been perpetrated within the limits of the colony itself.

"I have thus indicated in general terms the measures which it is proposed to adopt, and which are of course liable to be altered or modified on further consideration. The lieutenant-governor will also be the bearer of instructions defining the relative authority and duties of himself and of the governor of the colony. I therefore abstain from enlarging at present on those topics. \* \* \* Sympathising with every just and honourable sentiment of the subjects of the British Crown, his Majesty has commanded me to express his solicitude for the protection of the Aborigines of Southern Africa, and his repugnance to sanction any enlargement of his dominions of which their sufferings would be the price. You are aware that in the session of parliament of 1834, the House of Commons especially invoked his Majesty's protection for these defenceless people, and received from the king an assurance of his Majesty's determination to act in this respect in accordance to their wishes. In the spirit of that assurance I am commanded to issue these instructions; nor will his Majesty regard his pledge as redeemed until he can present to his people the proofs of the establishment of a system of border policy advantageous alike for the Kafirs and for the colony."

When writing the despatch, from which the above extracts are taken, Lord Glenelg was still ignorant of the arrangement made with regard to Kreili. On being informed of it, he desired that the lands taken from that chief, in lieu of cattle, should be forthwith restored; and that, if really unable to

course of the narrative. Still, all who are desirous of understanding the complicated question of South African affairs, and especially of frontier policy, would do well to study a state paper, equally sound in principle and elegant in diction. It is much to be regretted that his lordship's tenure of office was so brief.

pay the stipulated amount, he should be entirely acquitted of all obligation on that score. His lordship added, that after the opinion expressed by the governor respecting the peculiar advantages of the Kei, as a frontier of defence, he had not been prepared to expect an additional encroachment on the territory of the Kafirs.\* The views and measures of the home government were very unwelcome to the war party among the colonists, and the leading colonial officials not unnaturally evinced extreme annoyance at the total reversal of their policy. Colonel Smith, overlooking the explicit answer furnished beforehand by Lord Glenelg, asked in plain terms the question generally put in a less straightforward manner: "Are the Kafirs, the possessors of this soil by right of conquest, not to be ejected by the same right? Are they alone of all the rest of the aborigines from whom England has wrested her possessions, to be thus favoured?"† Sir B. D'Urban, after ineffectually striving to induce Lord Glenelg to retain possession of Kafirland, so far forgot the courtesy due to his lordship as to address him in a tone and temper which could not be overlooked.‡ The colonial secretary and the governor of the Cape, could no longer continue to maintain their relative positions, and the latter was informed that his services were no longer required by his Majesty.§ However the pride of Sir B. D'Urban might have been mortified by this intimation, it must yet, in some respects, have been a decided relief to him. Notwithstanding the energy with which he applied himself to rule the internal affairs of the colony, and the strenuous efforts of Colonel Smith to *keep down* the Kafir subjects of Victoria Province, matters were yet, both within and upon the frontier, assuming an aspect too threatening to be unobserved by either of these officers; although sensible of their own deep responsibility, they concurred in representing every occurrence in its most favourable light.

EMIGRATION OF THE BOORS.—Soon after

\* Parl. Papers, July, 1837, p. 19.

† Colonel Smith would appear to have carried his notions of the right of conquest to a considerable length. In this same communication, dated April, 1836, he speaks of himself as residing on the spot whence the Rev. John Brownlee, whom he describes as an exemplary minister, had been driven during the war. Soon after his departure, the Kafirs burned his house, fearing, they said, that it might be used as a fortified position by the troops. After the termination of hostilities, Colonel Smith, according to Backhouse, "took possession of it, repaired it,

the termination of the war, the disaffection of one large class of H.M. subjects manifested itself in a most unmistakeable manner. The boors, to the number of some thousands, quitted the colony in organized masses, selling their farms for just what they could get; and throwing them up in utter disgust if unable to find a purchaser. The immediate causes of this mania for "trekking," and, especially, for abjuring alike the governance and protection of Great Britain, would seem to have been but partially connected with the motives which had formerly rendered them such ungovernable subjects to their distant government, the Amsterdam "Chamber of the Seventeen."—(See pp. 13, 16, 30.)

Then, it was not that communities migrated, but that they rapidly increased; and growing stronger and more numerous, seized with a bolder grasp the lands of the aborigines, whom they expelled, exterminated, or converted into hewers of wood and drawers of water. The personal importance of each boor depended upon the number of his flocks and herds, and the amount of broad acres over which they roamed. In due time, his family grew up; the sons wanted farms of their own, that is, from 5,000 to 10,000 acres of ground, and they also went forth to dispossess the natives of their finest springs and freshest pastures. The records of the Cape government, and the residencies of Stellenbosch and Swellendam, during the whole of the eighteenth century, teem with painful details of the seizure of the land, and frequently, also, of the cattle belonging both to the Hottentots and Kafirs. The injunctions and threatened penalties of the weak and distant authorities at the Cape, could not restrain the lawless boors, who little heeded the denunciation, by governmental placats, of their aggressive violence, or the misfortunes brought upon the land thereby.¶ The gradual extension of the colony, and the means by which it had been brought about, have been shown, step by step; but and added to it, arguing against John Brownlee's claim to the site and materials, that it was taken in war from an enemy! In the overruling of the Most High, it has, however, been restored to its worthy owner and his family, with the addition of Colonel Smith's improvements."—*Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and South Africa*. By James Backhouse; p. 237.

‡ Despatch of Sir B. D'Urban, 9th June, 1836; Parl. Papers, July, 1837; pp. 63, 65.

§ *Idem*, p. 278.

¶ *Vide* Placaat, dated 4th April, 1727.



the following abstracts from official records, taken at a long interval, will suffice to show that the manner in which the farmers first forcibly occupied, and then expected the government to maintain them in secure possession of Kafirland, was precisely the same throughout. Thus:—

In 1771, a boor, named W. Prinslo, took possession of two places beyond Brintjes-hoogte, contrary to the law of 13th February, 1770, by which colonists were strictly forbidden to intrude on Kafir territory. Scarcity of water and deficiency of grass in the colony induced others to follow his example. These, in an address to the governor, dated Brintjes-hoogte, 10th October, 1774, stated, that they heard, with great grief, of the many disgraceful complaints which their fellow-colonists made against them, and deprecated the designation of "rebels" which had been applied to them: that they would have gone to the Sneurbergen, but feared that the few cattle and sheep which they possessed would be plundered from them by the Bushmen. Finding the country lying beyond the Brintjes-hoogte good for grazing and for cultivation, and with abundance of game for food, they settled there, and prayed forgiveness for having made this extension. They entreated that they might be allowed to remain in the country, that it should be added to the territories of the Company, and promised to be, in future, obedient burghers to the government. This document is signed by Krugel, W. Prinslo, Potgeiter, Klopper, and eleven others. Their application was referred by the governor in council to the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch, and after consultation with the old Heemraden, Martin Melk, and J. B. Hofman, who had fixed the limits in 1770, it was recommended (30th January, 1775) that the boundary should be extended, to insure pasturage and water, as far as the Fish River on the northern parts, and to the Bushman or Zwartkops River on the southern part; and the northern extremity should extend to the Caugha Mountains. In 1775 (17th March) the Landdrost and Heemraden of Swellendam also recommended to the governor and council at the Cape, that the boundary be extended to the Fish and Zwartkops Rivers, as the increasing families of the colonists required that they should obtain new places for their sons, otherwise they would get poorer and poorer daily. These requests were granted; but, on the 27th December of the same year, the governor and council ordered that none should go beyond the Fish River, on the northern frontier, nor beyond the Zwartkops, on the southern limit; but these boundaries were soon passed. Fifty years afterwards, Lieutenant-colonel Wade, when commenting on the large sale of gunpowder by the regular traders and boors residing within the boundary, added—"But besides these there are also the farmers, who, in defiance of the law and the severity of its penalties, migrate beyond the boundaries, and at the same time that they supply the natives with these means of desolating the colony, unfortunately furnish them also with something of a reasonable pretext for doing so, by dispossessing the weak and unarmed, and occupying all the fertile spots and springs; and it is asserted, upon good authority, not unfrequently disgracing themselves by atrocities hardly less barbarous than those which the banditti inflict within the settle-

ment. \* \* \* In the country between the frontier line and the Upper Orange River, and between the latter and the Caledon River, there are, at this moment, upwards of 100 heads of families, with their slaves, thus situated; having seized upon the district that best suited them, without any regard to the right of property of the natives; and it cannot, therefore, be matter of surprise that the latter should seek to retaliate."\*

The above instances illustrate the manner in which the boors, during a period of nearly two centuries, gradually extended themselves over an immense amount of land. The causes of the great migration of 1836 must, however, have been very different from the simple desire for more land, since the migrators, so far from advocating the extension of the colonial boundary, sought, by passing it, to cast off their allegiance to British sway. For this desire the chief causes assigned were, first, the slave emancipation, and the unsatisfactory manner in which the compensation, granted by government was paid;† and, secondly, Sir

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1835; Part ii., 75.

† The introduction of slaves into the Cape colony was, as we have already seen, commenced by the Dutch, who imported them from Java, from the Guinea coast, and from Madagascar, &c.: some were Malays, others African negroes. The Imperial Parliament decreed the abolition of slavery on the 1st August, 1834. The number and condition of slaves at this period, and the compensation awarded to their proprietors, are thus stated in a return to the House of Lords, dated March, 1838:—

| Classes.   | Slaves in each Class. | Compensation value. |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Prædial unattached:—</i>                                |                       |                     |
| Head people . . . . .                                      | 398                   | £25,618             |
| Tradesmen . . . . .  | 234                   | 14,621              |
| Inferior ditto . . . . .                                   | 107                   | 6,126               |
| Field labourers . . . . .                                  | 5,963                 | 305,931             |
| Inferior ditto . . . . .                                   | 5,325                 | 188,948             |
| Total . . . . .  | 11,727                | £541,297            |
| <i>Non-prædial:—</i>                                       |                       |                     |
| Head tradesmen . . . . .                                   | 1,260                 | 77,396              |
| Inferior ditto . . . . .                                   | 983                   | 49,275              |
| Head people employed on }<br>wharfs, shipping, &c. . . . } | 20                    | 796                 |
| Inferior people ditto . . . . .                            | 23                    | 937                 |
| Head domestics . . . . .                                   | 5,265                 | 245,723             |
| Inferior ditto . . . . .                                   | 9,842                 | 286,658             |
| Total . . . . .  | 17,393                | £651,788            |

Children under six years of age on the 1st December, 1834—slaves in each class, 5,732; compensation value, £37,813. Aged, diseased, or otherwise non-effective—slaves in each class, 899; compensation value, £5,087.

Note.—Number of claims having reference to each division—Prædial Unattached, 3,442; Non-Prædial, 4,803.

In order to prepare the slaves for unconditional

Benjamin D'Urban's attempt to establish a militia in the Cape colony similar to that which existed in British America. The Dutch boers were much indisposed to the project, because it would oblige them to leave their farms. They, moreover, viewed it as a scheme to entrap them into the condition of English soldiers; and this idea strengthened their determination to cross the boundary, and establish a new and independent community.

Most favourable reports had reached them respecting Natal, reports which, it is alleged, had been widely circulated by colonists who took advantage of their known ignorance, and fanned their discontent, hoping to profit by the valuable farms which, in consequence of their departure, would be sold much under their value, if not completely deserted.

After enduring great privations, the migrating boers at length settled down in various localities; some eventually reached Natal, others proceeded towards the north-eastward, and established themselves in the vicinity of the Orange River. The British government, anxious to extend some degree of protection to the natives against these usurping European squatters, passed a law empowering the local tribunals of the Cape to take cognizance of, and punish offences committed by British subjects to the southward of the 25th degree of south latitude. This measure, though well intended, proved almost wholly ineffective, from the difficulty of arresting offenders, of proving whether they were really British subjects, and whether the offence in question had been committed within the specified territory.

**THE D'URBAN SUPERSEDED BY THE GLENELG OR STOCKENSTROM SYSTEM.**—On the 5th of December, 1836, Kafirland was restored to its native proprietors, as

freedom, they were to be considered as apprentices from 1st August, 1834, to 1st December, 1838, when they became entirely free. It was ascertained that they were then distributed in the several districts of the colony as follows:—Cape Town, 5,702; Cape district, 4,910; Stellenbosch, 9,500; Worcester, 3,489; Clan William, 1,015; Swellendam, 3,137; Beaufort, 571; George, 2,174; Albany, 227; Somerset, 1,760; Graaf Reynet, 2,049; Uitenhage, 4,399: total, 35,933. Thus in Cape Town, and in Cape and Stellenbosch districts, the number was 20,112; and in all the rest of the colony, 15,821. The compensation money was distributed as follows:—Uncontested claims 5,429, £1,001,262; contested cases 743, £246,138: total, £1,246,400. Of this, £824,006 was already paid in November, 1837. The payments were made by orders on commissioners in London. The boers, generally ignorant

also the greater part of the neutral or ceded territory, and the Fish and Kat Rivers became the boundary of the colony. Treaties, formed upon the principles enunciated by Lord Glenelg, in the dispatch above quoted, were formed with the Gaika chiefs; Sandilli (represented by his mother, Sutu), Macomo, Tyalie, Botman, and Enno, and afterwards with the principal Zlambie, Tambookie, and Fingoe chiefs. Although resting solely upon rigid coercion, the D'Urban system, with its martial law and eat-o'-nine tails, its fort building and armed patrols, had proved inefficient to compel the fulfilment of some of the chief conditions of the treaties, while its main object, of gradually undermining the power of the chiefs, was defeated by the strong feudal attachment inherent in the minds of the people.\* The error of Lord Charles Somerset, in striving to elevate one chief to a rank to which by the customs of his country he had no claim, was injurious, because its injustice roused the anger of other independent chiefs; but the principle of treating with a free people through an acknowledged head was in itself judicious. At the period of Lord Charles's administration, it would have been comparatively easy to have formed international relations with the Kafirs by means of a few of their most influential leaders. Now the question had become more involved; many of the old chiefs had perished; the clans had split and become scattered; and, moreover, large numbers, deprived by the Europeans of their lands and cattle, had become marauders by profession. For it must be remembered, that there are two distinct classes among this singular people, one owing allegiance to a chief, and possessing land and cattle; the other being literally vagabonds, paupers, and thieves. The latter class had been for

and suspicious, or credulous, according to their feelings, were, in many instances, induced by the misrepresentations of unscrupulous persons, to sell their orders for a fractional part of their real value. They were told that the orders would not be honoured for several years, or that they must go to England; that, in fact, it was doubtful whether anything would ever be really paid: they, therefore, gladly took in cash whatever was offered. This heightened their discontent, and tended to inflame their minds against the government, rather than against the English money-agents, by whom they had been plundered.

\* For instance, it was particularly insisted upon by Sir Benjamin D'Urban that the Kafirs should deliver up all their muskets; but he was totally unable to enforce this condition, and it was therefore tacitly abandoned.—*Parl. Papers*, June, 1851; p. 22.



some years frightfully on the increase; the chiefs, engaged in perpetual altercation with an external enemy, had been unable to maintain the strict curb necessary to check the growing evils of their own communities; beside which their power and "prestige" had been greatly lessened in the minds of the worst portion of their own people, by the false policy of the colonial government. It was, therefore, no easy task to frame a system calculated to meet the present emergency; retrieve, as far as possible, past errors; and form the basis of a better and sounder state of things. Lord Glenelg had indeed sketched, with a masterly hand, the outline of the policy to be adopted; and, in appointing a lieutenant-governor for the Eastern provinces, he took care to select a man whose zeal, ability, and perfect conversance with frontier affairs, promised well for the arrangement of all matters of detail, as well as for the practical working of the whole scheme. Captain Stockenstrom, on the abolition of his office of commissioner-general, had gone to Sweden, intending permanently to settle there, but being summoned thence to give evidence before the select committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1836, to investigate the condition of the aborigines within or connected with British territories, he came to England, and there fully exposed the cruel and unjust treatment which had provoked the Kafirs to war. The government manifested their sense of the correctness of his views and the uprightness of his character by creating him lieutenant-governor, and leaving him to form the projected treaties. This he did most successfully; the chiefs, one and all, gratefully acknowledged the restoration of their land, and cheerfully entered into the engagements required of them, the principal of which necessarily hinged upon the repression on their part of depredations. This was rendered more practicable by its being decided that no complaint of theft made by a colonist should be admitted by the government as a charge against the Kafir nation or any tribe, unless the owner of the stolen cattle could prove that the property had been duly guarded, that it had been traced into Kafirland, and that notice had been given of the fact to the proper authorities within a specified time. The Kafir chiefs agreed on their part, that, if these points were proved, they would find and restore the stolen property if possible; and if they could not discover it, they bound

themselves to give compensation or an equivalent within a certain time.

It is to be regretted that some steps were not taken at this period to introduce among the Kafirs improvements in their form of government, which, without impairing the power of the chief and his Amapakati, or counsellors, should have paved the way for the increase of civilization, and rendered the suppression of theft more easy. Had an annual stipend, similar to that of £100 per annum, made to Waterboer, been allowed to the leading Kafir chiefs, and a small sum been dedicated to the maintenance of schools, a very beneficial impression might have been speedily made on the minds of both chiefs and people, who would thus have learned to consider their national and individual well-being intimately connected with the friendship of England. Besides omissions, however, serious errors were committed, calculated to endanger the peace of the frontier, of which one indefensible instance was the location of the Fingoe herdsmen in close proximity to the people whom they had plundered and betrayed. The lieutenant-governor vainly implored permission to have them removed farther westward, that they might no longer be an eye-sore to the Kafirs, who complained bitterly of being compelled to witness these "dogs fattening before their eyes upon the flocks of a chief [Hintza], whose memory they held so dear." Those, however, who voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of Macomo and Tyalie, after that part of Kafirland upon which they were located was restored to the Kafirs, were protected and supported by those chiefs.\* But even as it was, these treaties were followed by a nine years' peace, during which time the value of frontier property increased enormously, and the colony itself prospered. The Glenelg system succeeded, though worked by officials wedded to the coercive D'Urban policy. Lieutenant-governor Stockenstrom was not long permitted to occupy the position for which he was so well fitted. His public exposition of the conduct of too many of the colonists and local authorities had so embittered them against him, that they at length succeeded in procuring his supersession from Lord Normanby, (who had succeeded Lord Glenelg as secretary of state,) on the sole ground of unpopularity. He was assured of the cordial approbation and

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1851; pp. 18--21.

esteem of the government; but though acknowledged to possess more political and moral power over the Kafirs and the Hot-tentots than any other man in the colony,\* his services were dispensed with at the moment they were most needed. A baronetcy and a pension were awarded to him, and Colonel Hare was appointed in his place; but he appears to have given scarcely less dissatisfaction by refusing to countenance the false accusations repeatedly made against the Kafirs, and perseveringly exposing the wilful misrepresentations of the frontier press. Meanwhile, Sir George Napier had succeeded Sir Benjamin D'Urban as governor, and during his six years' administration, peace, broken only by petty depredations, prevailed throughout the frontier. In his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1851, he stated his conviction of the necessity of conducting all affairs with the Kafirs through their chiefs; and he pointed out the large class of colonists who made a great deal of money by war, and whose constant cry was, "have troops over." He resisted the urgent entreaties of the war party, and never fired a shot against the Kafirs, nor the Kafirs against him.† The various costly military works then in progress, and estimated for, such as Martello towers, picquet towers, fortified guard-houses, all of most expensive mason-work, besides one or two forts, he declared to be one and all quite unnecessary as defences against a naked and uncivilized enemy, as yet without artillery or discipline; although (he adds), "a number are well armed with muskets, procured, I am sorry to say, from the very persons most clamorous against the Kafir nation."‡ Sir George Napier put a stop to all the projected military works; travelled through the Gaika country with Lady Napier, two servants, and two orderlies, and "never met with anything but the greatest kindness, although the professed object of his journey was to induce the chiefs to alter a good many of the details of the treaties" in favour of the colonists, in which he succeeded.§ The wisdom of the alterations made by him was more than doubtful, as it materially interfered with some of the most stringent clauses

of the treaties. The guardianship of an armed herdsman was to be no longer requisite to entitle the colonist who had been robbed to the recovery of his property; the restrictions to his pursuing it across the boundary were removed; it was not to be deemed necessary that it should have been immediately followed in order to establish a claim to restitution, and the amount of compensation required was considerably increased.|| The chiefs, on their part, when requested to agree to these new arrangements, pointed out in forcible language the increased facility that would be afforded to the false claims of the farmers, whose oaths would be believed in defiance of evidence. Tyalie declared that three different farmers had claimed a horse belonging to him, and Macomo noticed other instances of perjury and robbery on the side of the colonists,¶ yet they were induced to consent to the governor's wishes. The secret of his great personal influence over them is revealed in a private letter to Lord Glenelg: he says—

"I invariably treated all the chiefs as my equals; as I am convinced the more we hold them up in a respectable light, and as great men, which they are in their own nation, the greater will be their confidence in us, and the more power they will have of keeping their people quiet." \* \* \* Sir George Napier, in the same communication, states his conviction, that from all he had seen, heard, and learned, during a protracted sojourn in the eastern districts, he felt convinced that the newly-adopted system was the only sound course to proceed in, and that if steadily and fairly allowed to work, it must and would succeed, in spite of all difficulties; for its basis was justice and humanity.\*\*

Sir George Napier was succeeded by Sir Peregrine Maitland, a benevolent and just man, who, however, suffered himself at the onset to be sadly misled by the popular outcry. Soon after his arrival, in 1844, he summoned the Kafir chiefs to meet him, surrounded the place with the 7th Dragoon Guards, and compelled the chiefs to sign new treaties. Macomo did so, remarking at the same time to Mr. Stretch, the diplomatic agent, "I am forced to this, but I sign for the Stockenström treaties." The other chiefs likewise asserted, that the new governor "smelt of war," and that had they not agreed to everything proposed, they would have had their heads cut off.††

\* *Vide* evidence of Sir George Napier.—Parl. Papers, August, 1851; pp. 201—205.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 201.

‡ Despatch to Lord Glenelg, July, 1838. *Vide* Parl. Papers, June, 1851, p. 32.

§ Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 200.

|| Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 72.

¶ *Idem*, pp. 79, 80.

\*\* Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 40.

†† *Vide* letter of C. L. Stretch, Esq., Diplomatic agent to the Gaika tribes, published in the *Colonial Intelligencer*, of June, 1852.



There was no excuse for the governor's breach of faith in abolishing the old treaties. Their efficacy was, so late as 1845, formally inquired into by the Cape Legislative Council, and their success was powerfully insisted upon, especially with regard to the important item of cattle stealing. It was then shown that there had been a material reduction in the amount stolen, and a considerable increase in the number restored by the Kafirs. It was also proved that cattle discovered to have been stolen by their people were frequently sent back to the colony, even when they had been taken under circumstances which prevented their being demanded by the strict article of the treaties.\* Whereas previous to the Glenelg system, the usual amount of cattle recovered was only one-sixth to one-tenth of the number stolen; the recoveries under the treaties were one-half to one-third during nine years. And to this it should be added, that some of the highest and most impartial authorities at the Cape testified to there being more acts of plunder put down to their account than they were guilty of.† Yet the favourable opinion of the legislature of the Cape Colony respecting the good conduct of the Kafirs in this and other respects, appears to have been insufficient to combat the ruling idea of the governor, that a war-party had grown up in Kafirland. Very probably there was some truth in it: but, if so, nothing could have been worse calculated to increase this than the unjustifiable aggression of the governor, who, instead of checking, suffered himself to be led by the more dangerous war party within the colony. Colonel Hare, alarmed and disgusted by the course adopted by the governor, requested permission to resign his position; Mr. Stretch endangered and ultimately lost his, by vindicating the Kafirs, and it soon became evident that the government were preparing for a fourth Kafir war. Meanwhile two of the leading chiefs, foreseeing the mischief and misery impending, requested permission to come into the colony and settle there, in order to live in peace. One of these chiefs was Macomo; strange to say, his application was disregarded, a passing mention of it in a dispatch being all the notice attracted by so important an offer.

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 136.

† Parl. Papers, February, 1847; pp. 10 to 18.

‡ Close to the source of the *Shesago* or *Chisega*, a small stream, flowing into the Kat River.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, though far from recommending a return to the D'Urban system, persevered in reintroducing some of its most vexatious features. By virtue of an article in the old treaties, which had throughout the whole of his predecessor's administration been suffered to lie dormant, he erected "Post Victoria," in the heart of the ceded territory,‡ a proceeding which the Kafirs viewed with extreme suspicion, as a step toward the renewal of war and the re-seizure of territory which they were at this time given to understand they held upon good behaviour. Nothing could have been worse timed than these warlike demonstrations, or more uncalled for than the repeated declaration of the governor, during a time of peace, that "the Kafirs need not think to cope with the English, since even if they could destroy all the troops then in South Africa, England could and would easily send an army sufficient to eat up the whole Kafir nation without trouble."§ Even Colonel Smith, a military man in the strictest sense of the word, recognised the necessity of using moral force in his dealings with the Kafirs, and of utterly refraining from chafing such jealous and excitable natures, by sights and sounds only too congenial to the passions of man in a state of barbarism. Thus, even while keeping so strict a watch during the brief existence of the Adelaide Province, that "not a mouse could move in all Kafirland without his knowledge,"|| he declared that everything depended "upon the main-spring, the chief-magistrate, the superintendent of police, and the non-interference of the military. The latter," he added, "is the thing of all others, to re-animate every feeling of animosity in the minds of the Kafirs."¶

The dearly-bought experience of his predecessors, and the warnings of some of the ablest and most respected men in the colony, failed in preserving the governor from a proceeding which had well-nigh occasioned the outbreak of hostilities before preparations had been made to meet them. He committed what in the eyes of the Kafir nation was nothing less than a direct violation of all the treaties past and present, by the formal occupation of ground for the erection of a fort in Kafirland.

§ "Eating up," in Kafir parlance, signifies the complete seizure and confiscation of property.

|| Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 197.

¶ Parl. Papers, July, 1837; p. 265.

When the subject was first mooted, Sandilli appeared disposed to allow it on certain reasonable conditions, such as ground-rent being paid to him, &c.; but he could not grant the required permission without the concurrence of his "amapakati," or counsellors, and they utterly disapproved and rejected the proposal. Nevertheless, through a series of extraordinary mistakes, a party of engineers, attended by a strong military escort, persisted in surveying the land, notwithstanding the indignant opposition of the natives, and the peremptory order of Sandilli for the removal of the tent, flags, stakes, and such like, erected on his territory. Sir Peregrine Maitland considered that desisting from the survey would encourage the war-party among the Kafirs; the frontier authorities happily acted upon the simple principles of justice, and conscious that the survey was both an "unlawful act" and an "awkward mistake," they stopped it, and behaved towards the chiefs with so much prudence and moderation, that hostilities were averted when they seemed on the eve of breaking out, "unprovoked by any act of the Kafir natives." Both the lieutenant-governor, Colonel Hare, and the frontier commissioner, Major (not Sir Harry) Smith, emphatically warned the governor against the course he was pursuing; the former especially entreated him to beware of being misled "by the alarming and exciting rumours that have been wickedly and extensively circulated throughout the border, by persons always ready and desirous for the work of agitation, all of which rumours had no other foundation than a restlessness among the Kafirs in their own country, caused by the grievous sufferings they were then enduring, in consequence of their great loss of cattle, and the failure in their harvests, occasioned by long-continued drought." He assured the governor of his conviction that neither the chiefs nor the people had any hostile feeling towards the colony, and that if not provoked by us, there was no danger of the commencement of war on their side; but," he added, "that any attempt at expulsion would be resisted by every chief from the Fish River to the Buffalo. Nothing short of a clear breach of faith, which should be viewed by the whole nation as a preliminary towards driving them from their country, would induce them to make common cause against the colony; but that measure once decided

upon, could be accomplished only by means of an adequate force sent from England, and at the cost of another million sterling."\*

This timely warning was disregarded, and a few weeks furnished the governor with what he deemed a sufficient reason for declaring war against the whole nation. A Kafir, named Kleintje, was accused of having stolen an axe; it was taken from him, and he was suffered to depart; but the following day he was apprehended and taken before a magistrate, who determined to send him to Graham's Town to wait for trial at the circuit court. The chief (Tola), to whose tribe the accused belonged, said, that was contrary to the treaty, that all such offences were to be tried at Fort Beaufort, in the immediate vicinity of the frontier, where both parties could have their witnesses, and the matter might be properly investigated. The magistrate persisted in his determination, and sent the man, with a slight escort of two or three Hottentot policemen, across the Kafir frontier, within sight of his own kraal. As the party were passing, a number of young men rushed out to rescue their countrymen; the constable in charge fired, and shot the brother of the prisoner dead, but the captive himself escaped; the Kafirs, in their rage and haste, ruthlessly murdering the Hottentot to whom he had been handcuffed for security.

The conduct of the chiefs on this occasion sufficiently proved that they had no desire to create a "*casus belli*." Tola, the chief of minor rank, who had before endeavoured to moderate the proceedings of the magistrate, went at once to the diplomatic agent, stationed at Block Drift, to explain the case. He pleaded that the prisoner had been unjustly accused, and hurried off without inquiry. The governor, he hoped, would consider the affair, and leave it as it stood. A Hottentot was dead on one side, a Kafir on the other. Botman, the superior chief, when desired to surrender Kleintje and his rescuers, replied that he could not, they were not to be found, adding, "Kleintje is dead; for his brother has been killed, and that is enough. The governor weeps over the Hottentot, and we weep over our man." Sandilli, on being appealed to, declared that he "did not understand the treaties required small thefts, such as of beads and axes, to be tried at Graham's

\* Parl. Papers, February, 1847; p. 60. Their partial expulsion cost more than double that sum.



Town at the circuit court. "I understand," said he, "that stealers of horses and cattle should be sent there, while a short imprisonment at Beaufort would suffice for petty thefts. The governor must not be in haste with forces in this case. Let us speak about it, that we may understand it."\*

But the governor was in haste; he considered the unwillingness of the chiefs to deliver up the offenders, as a sufficient proof of their being confederated against the government, and he at once proceeded to the frontier, and proclaimed his intention of summarily punishing them, and crushing the Kafir war-party in general.† Sandilli went to the diplomatic agent (Mr. Stretch) on the 27th of March, promised to deliver up the offenders, and entreated the missionaries and traders not to leave his country, for he had no intention of war;‡ but his representations were insufficient to avert the invasion of his country. On the 11th of April, 1846, the troops took the field, on the 15th they encamped at the Burn's Hill missionary station, and the following morning prepared to storm the Amatola Mountains, where the enemy had assembled in force. Apparently the projectors of this most unjustifiable invasion had entirely forgotten the determined courage evinced by the Kafirs in the last war, and expected them to submit without a struggle. If the existence of an extensive and influential war party had been believed, surely nothing but the most complete infatuation could have induced the sending of so small a force as 1,500 or 1,600 men, part of which moreover consisted of heavy cavalry, accompanied by 123 waggons, to wage deadly warfare against immense hordes of light-footed, athletic, and more or less armed natives, in the stronghold which had heretofore been deemed impregnable. The small invading force evinced perfect discipline, and unwavering courage, even while toiling through steep and wooded ravines, actually red with Kafirs, in all the hideousness of their war paint, who yelled forth their usual defying taunt—"Izāpā! Izāpā!" (come on! come on!) Colonel Campbell, at the head of a body of infantry, a battalion of the 91st regiment, and 180 Kat River burghers, succeeded in forcing an

important pass between the Amatola valley and the heights, notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Kafirs, who advanced to a hand-and-hand encounter, discharging their muskets within a few yards of the troops. But their firelocks were overcharged; they uniformly fired too high, and consequently inflicted little injury, while they themselves suffered severely from the steady fire kept up by the 91st, while toiling up the steep and wooded ascent, at the summit of which they were joined by Colonel Somerset at the head of the second division. The whole force then moved down to the flats at the base of the hills, and bivouacked that night around 1,800 head of cattle, swept off from the open ground at the foot of the mountains. During these operations, serious damage was inflicted by a party of the enemy. The Burns' Hill station was attacked, an officer (Captain Baimbrick) and four privates of the 91st killed; and notwithstanding the artillery of the British, and the employment of those fearful engines of destruction—shells, so skilfully thrown that they exploded in the very midst of large masses of them, the Kafirs advanced undauntedly, and on the morning of the 17th, captured sixty-three of the waggons. The force in charge of the waggons were chiefly Hottentots; they saved the three which contained ammunition, by the exercise of most desperate and determined courage, defending them from eight in the morning until eight at night, by which time succour arrived. Colonel Somerset, with the remainder of the force, then fell back upon Block Drift, the line of march being throughout beset by swarms of Kafirs, pertinaciously striving to cut off his retreat. Meanwhile the governor and his staff had arrived at Post Victoria, where a defensive force had been stationed. The enemy approached at break of day, carried off large numbers of valuable draught oxen, and succeeded in retaining possession of them, after a sharp struggle with the force sent in pursuit. Soon after this it was deemed necessary to abandon and burn Post Victoria, and remove the stores to Fort Beaufort. This most unpropitious opening of the campaign appears to have awakened the governor to a more just

tion of the records of British residences in native districts from 1835 to 1846, that the Kafir side of the question might be made known. He declares that abundant evidence would be thereby afforded of the excellent working of the Glenelg treaties, up to the period of their alteration by Governor Napier.

\* Par. Pap., Feb., 1847; pp. 84-86, 90. † *Id.*, p. 106.

‡ Mr. Stretch, in his character of diplomatic agent, protested strongly against the proposed invasion, at a military council held at Fort Beaufort, on the 8th of April, and has since published a pamphlet, in which he forcibly urges upon the government the examina-

appreciation of the responsibility he had incurred. Addressing the colonial secretary (Lord Stanley) on the 24th of April, he declares that the officers engaged in the last Kafir war were astonished at the resoluteness and skill now suddenly displayed by the Gaikas, and that he had no conception of the extent to which they were furnished with fire-arms, or of the facility with which they used them. Their persevering courage in facing artillery, their combination and expertness in skirmishing in the bush and harassing the troops, were new and startling features in their warfare which rendered them altogether "no contemptible foe."

Although the loss of the British in killed and wounded had been very trifling, the capture of the baggage waggons, the retreat from the Amatola, and the abandonment of Post Victoria, clearly placed the advantage on the side of the enemy. On the 21st of May, forty-one waggons laden with supplies destined for Fort Peddie, were intercepted on their way, and Colonel Somerset himself, at the head of 1,200 men, succeeded only with extreme difficulty in conveying a second detachment of loaded ox-waggons there. The whole of the tribes between the frontier and the Kei united. Macomo, who up to the last moment had evinced the most friendly dispositions towards the colony, by vainly entreating to be received within its precincts, and formally recognized as a British subject, was now compelled by his tribe to join their hostility against the people who had tacitly rejected his offers of friendship. To guard a frontier which, without reckoning its numerous indentures, measured 200 miles, against the inroads of the whole Kafir nation, was manifestly impossible; large

marauding parties entered it at all points, from the Winterberg to the sea, burning houses, carrying off flocks, and holding possession of the forests, the open country, and even of the high roads. Happily but few lives were lost, the farmers having collected themselves in "lagers" or small camps, along the border; sheltering, as they best could, their families and such of their cattle and other property as they had been able to collect.

At this crisis the governor took upon himself the direction of military operations, proclaimed martial law throughout the colony, and summoned a burgher force from every district, to assemble under their field-commandants and field-cornets on the frontier without delay. But here another difficulty occurred; the extensive emigration which had taken place since the last war, had removed the most belligerent class of boers, while those who remained, dissatisfied with the proceedings of the government, showed no inclination to take up arms in its cause. Happily the influence and ability of Sir Andreas Stockenström, though little regarded in time of peace, were still available in this season of danger and depression. He was appointed commandant-general of the burgher forces of the eastern districts, which formed a distinct division of the colonial force, and before the end of May became so efficiently organized, as to completely shield the Cradock and Somerset districts, and the upper part of Albany. In less than one month, without the assistance of engineer, sapper, or miner, the most open and exposed portion of the frontier had been converted into the strongest, by means of a series of well-established posts. Towards the end of June\* this division was prepared for offen-

\* The only occasion throughout the tedious campaign, in which the British succeeded in surprising the Kafirs, was on the open ground between the Keiskamma and the Fish River. Here, on the 7th of June, about 600 were discovered in a body, and immediately charged upon by Colonel Somerset. For a moment they showed a front, but their serried masses were broken through, and trampled to the dust by the horsemen. Hotly pursued, and hewn down, at every step, they still threw showers of assegais, flying meanwhile so rapidly that a large number had well-nigh gained the shelter of the Keiskamma Bush, when Captain Hogg, with a troop of the 7th dragoons, intercepted their flight. Then, no longer attempting resistance or escape, they strove to shelter themselves amidst the scattered clumps of grass and brushwood, while their pursuers, weary of carnage, dismounted to breathe their tired horses. At this moment a part of the Fingoe levies arrived

on foot. Too late for the fight, they were soon enough to vent their miserable malice on the people whom they feared and hated. Lieutenant-colonel Napier (one of the seven staff officers despatched from England, in 1846, to assist Sir Peregrine Maitland in terminating the war) has placed on record a fearful description of "the ferocious eagerness with which they searched among the tall grass and low bushes for their crouching foes; mercilessly, and in cold blood, despatching them when discovered." Some, when they found their retreat completely cut off, committed suicide by severing their own throats with the sharp edge of the assegai, to avoid the ruthless barbarities of the Fingoes. No attempt whatever appears to have been made by the British officers to stop this wholesale slaughter. One eye-witness to this revolting and disgraceful scene, whose testimony is quoted by Lieutenant-colonel Napier, says, "We could not, had we tried to do so, have put a stop to



sive as well as defensive operations, comprising 1,600 men, ready to take the field, and about 1,200 destined to maintain the line of posts above mentioned. Four hundred of the Kat River Legion, under their brave leaders Groepe and Botha, were transferred from the first or Somerset division to the third, and posted in readiness to attack the fastnesses of the Amatola, so soon as the commander-in-chief should order the contemplated combined movement of the whole army, then amounting to about 10,000 men.

This movement, however, succeeded but partially, from the want (it is asserted) of efficient cooperation and combination in the three divisions. That headed by Sir Andreas Stockenstrom was alone completely successful in forcing the Amatola passes, searching every nook and corner, defeating their tenants wherever they ventured to make a stand, and successfully encamping in those strongholds so long deemed impregnable.

The spell seemed broken, and as early as the evening of the 30th of August, messengers were sent by the Gaika leaders to tell the Tambookies (some of whom had lately joined them) that "the Amatola was broken to pieces, that Kafirland was lost, and that the Amakosæ had no longer a place of rest."\*

Still the Kafirs were not subdued. Hoping to paralyze further proceedings, they had burned all the grass, and this, together with extreme scarcity of supplies, greatly crippled the movements of the invading army. Notwithstanding these difficulties, it was considered expedient to take advantage of the panic which temporarily prevailed among the western Kafirs, by marching across the Kei, forcing a passage to the very residence of Kreili (who was supposed to have abetted or given refuge to his beligerent countrymen), and dictating to him the course he was to pursue. Kreili, on

learning the approach of troops, despatched two of his chief counsellors to disclaim, on his part, all share in the present hostilities, and to entreat a continuation of the peace which he had done nothing to violate. The answer was, that any discussion upon the subject could be held only at the residence of the chief, and thither Sir Andreas Stockenstrom and Lieutenant-colonel Johnstone proceeded, and on the 21st of August held a conference with Kreili and his council, and obtained their full consent to all the required conditions, of affording no countenance to the Gaikas, restoring all stolen cattle that should be brought into his territory, and acknowledging the right of the British government to all the land west of the Great or White Kei, which was now reassumed as the colonial boundary. Sir Percgrine Maitland subsequently refused to sanction this convention, demanding from Kreili 15,000 head of cattle, as reparation for his alleged ill-conduct. Kreili indignantly declared that he thought the white people were seeking occasion to quarrel with him, in order that they might send him after his father [Hintza], who had been killed without the shadow of guilt being proved against him. If it were really so, nothing he could say would have any effect; he could but patiently wait the result.† On his return from Kreili's country, Sir Andreas attacked the Tambookies under Mapassa, killed some 40 or 50 of them, and carried off between 7,000 and 8,000 cattle, after which the burghers, whose presence at their own farms was of great importance, solicited permission to retire, a boon which the governor, however unwillingly, could but grant. The war seemed almost as far from a conclusion as ever. Macomo had come to Fort Cox and sued for peace, in the name of the associate chiefs; he said that he had always desired it, yet that while praying for it his kraal

this pastime of the Fingoes, for we had all dismounted; both horses and men being dead-beat, and completely done up; and it is likely that, if we could have put a stop to it, there were many present who might probably not have taken the trouble to do so; for, disgusting as was the sight, we were all well aware that the Kafirs, under similar circumstances, would have treated us much worse; and since the Fingoes were the scavengers, some thought it was a good opportunity to get rid of a great deal of foul garbage and filth."—Lieutenant-colonel E. E. Napier's *Excursions in Southern Africa*, vol. ii., p. 268. Thus terminated the action of the Gwanga, in the butchery of a conquered foe, to whose bravery even their most inveterate and prejudiced enemies have borne witness.

Colonel Napier himself declares them "to be 'game to the back-bone,' never crying out, however badly wounded, or even demanding quarter, but merely pronouncing the name of their chief ere they give up the ghost." (Vol. ii., p. 337.) Yet this writer can suggest no gentler mode of dealing with the Kafirs than that of shooting or enslaving the whole nation (Vol. ii., p. 228), and he declares it to be "pretty generally the opinion, that these brigands should be treated like wild beasts, even to the employment of bloodhounds in tracking them to their lairs." (Vol. i., p. 289.)

\* Napier's *Excursions in South Africa*, vol. ii., pp. 209, 211.

† Parl. Papers, February, 1848; p. 16.

had been burned. He was told that it would be granted only on condition of their surrendering their arms, their plunder, and their land. Thereupon Sandilli declared that they would never consent to surrender the arms which they had honestly purchased, and that the cattle had been recaptured, but that he and his people would gladly live under British law. When told that this reply was a fresh declaration of hostility, Sandilli replied that he, for his part, would make no war, but should return to his place, and cultivate his gardens; the soldiers might come and kill him, but he would not fight any more.

In September, money, troops, and stores of all kinds, arrived from England, but the impracticability of conveying supplies to the interior, compelled the governor to vacate his advanced camp facing the poorts of the Buffalo, and fall back upon Waterloo Bay.\* The Kafirs again intrenched themselves in the Amatola mountains, and true to their expressed determination, offered nothing but passive resistance, vacating the country whenever it was patrolled by the enemy, and occupying it again as soon as the soldiers had left it. At length, towards the close of November, Macomo voluntarily placed himself and his family in the hands of the British, and Sandilli delivered up the Kafir who, by killing the Hottentot, had been the immediate cause of the war. A large number of horses, sheep, and muskets, and 20,000 head of cattle, were demanded from the Gaikas, who consented to the payment, but entreated that time might be given them. All who brought arms were registered, and tickets given them in token of their being British subjects, and at liberty to settle down in peace. The Kafirs were henceforth to be excluded from the whole of the ceded territory, and likewise from the Chumie Hoek (or corner), and Block Drift. Macomo appealed earnestly against the mandate of expulsion, urging his well-known unwillingness to the war, and his entreaty, before the outbreak, to be taken into the colony. He spoke of the good conduct of his father, who had lived in the fair land in which he himself had grown old, adding, "Here my children have been born. Let me die in peace where I have lived so long." His daughter Amakeya, the belle of Kafirland, as a last resource,

pleaded in most pathetic language for her father, offering, if his sentence of banishment might be rescinded, to be herself the guarantee of his good faith. But it was all in vain, and Macomo was sent to Algoa Bay in somewhat the position of a state prisoner under military surveillance.

Without any specific declaration of peace, war was virtually at an end. The governor considered the Kafirs to have no alternative but starvation or submission, and frankly declared that he dared not resume hostilities, and so prevent them from sowing the little corn which the lateness of the season would yet permit, or destroy that already sown, lest he should bring upon the colony "a nation of savages in the desperation of famine." At this time, November, 1846, he described the frontier as almost, if not quite unmolested by Kafirs; but, taught at last by experience, he complained bitterly against the frontier press, for keeping the country in a state of excitement by promulgating mischievous fabrications and false alarms.†

Colonel Hare at length received the permission to retire which he had so long solicited. His health had given way under the harassing anxiety of the campaign, and he died a few days after his embarkation for England. Sir Andreas Stockenström, now advanced in years, again sought the retirement of private life, worn down by excessive mental and bodily fatigue, and doubtless disgusted by the conduct of the governor in refusing to sanction his convention with Kreili. The gradual disbandment of the provisional corps was commenced, the 27th, 90th, and 91st regiments were warned to hold themselves in readiness for embarkation, the registration of the chiefs went on satisfactorily, and martial law was repealed. Sir Peregrine Maitland, however, though misled by the colonial war-party into commencing what he eventually termed a "deplorable war," now entirely forfeited his short-lived popularity by refusing to follow Sir Benjamin D'Urban's example, and grant farms to the colonists in the newly-acquired territory. He decided upon settling coloured people only along the new border, and preventing the thin white population of Albany being reproduced further east in proximity to Kafir tribes, by continuing the Fish and Kat Rivers as the limit of European farms. This he considered the safest means of maintaining the peace, which he now believed

\* In addition to other misadventures, a valuable store-ship was wrecked in Waterloo Bay.

† Parl. Papers, February, 1847; p. 198.



fairly established. Not so thought Sir H. Pottinger, who arrived in Cape Town in January, 1847, as his successor in the civil administration, accompanied by Sir G. Berkeley, who forthwith assumed the military command. The new governor's sway lasted only about ten months, but its effects are felt at the present moment. He forthwith decided that things could not be allowed to settle down in their then form, stopped the departure of the troops, planned the extension of the colonial boundary to the Buffalo, because a strong position at the mouth of that river was of vital moment, and declared the future subjugation of Kreili to be a *sine quâ non* to a final settlement.\* The question now arose as to how a sufficient force was to be found to carry out these extensive designs. The local levies had been disbanded, and their reformation was found to be impossible, every individual to whom the question was put positively refusing to re-enlist.

Finding it hopeless to attempt the re-enactment of martial law, the governor issued a proclamation asking the colonists to volunteer their aid in attacking Pato (a Zlambie chief who had not registered or surrendered his arms), driving him across the Kei, and following him into Kreili's country. To this appeal the colonists were naturally very unwilling to respond; but Sir H. Pottinger, knowing that the Hottentots were in fact the most efficient troops that could be procured, thought that no ceremony need be observed with them, and decreed that the inhabitants of the Kat River settlement should furnish 900 unpaid soldiers, on pain of the immediate confiscation of their lands.† The threat which enforced this peremptory demand was perfectly unjustifiable. The Kat River settlers were as independent as any of their European fellow-subjects, and held their lands perfectly free from any conditions of military service. Nevertheless, they had ever willingly borne a double share of toil and privation,‡ forsaking their homes at a time when their presence was most needed for their defence, and fighting side by side

\* Parl. Papers, February, 1848; pp. 12, 74.

† *Idem*, p. 45.

‡ Before the outbreak of 1835, they possessed 624 horses, 5,406 cattle, 8,925 sheep and goats, and had sown 310 muids of wheat, barley, and oats; 70 muids of Indian corn, beans, and peas; and 645 ridges of pumpkins. Of this property they lost nearly the whole; 557 horses, 3,992 black cattle, and 5,460 sheep and goats were swept away; the greater part of their produce was destroyed, and 44 of their dwellings were burnt to the ground. In every respect the

with the British troops, whose officers could find no terms of praise too high for these valuable and zealous auxiliaries.

After the peace they returned to their devastated abodes; and, having received no pay, had once more to struggle with the deepest poverty. This they did so effectually, that the property on the settlement in 1845 amounted in value to £65,850, being an average of £330 to every square mile of territory.§ In 1846 they again came cheerfully and readily to the defence of the frontier, and remained there though they thereby lost their cattle and crops, though their homesteads were destroyed, and they themselves half naked and almost starving. They returned to their country after the campaign in Kafirland, exhausted and almost literally naked.

In March, 1847, Sir George Berkeley testified that whereas only 3 per cent. of the European adult population was levied from other districts, the Kat River burghers actually furnished a quota of 90 per cent.; he therefore requested as a matter of favour, that the wives and children of those who, being actively engaged in garrisoning important posts in that district, were unable to attend to agricultural pursuits, or provide for their wives and children in any other way, should be allowed rations. This was granted, but all applications on their behalf for the long promised supplies of clothing were useless. Still they bore their grievances with patience, until their local magistrate, a Mr. Biddulph, who, from his notorious hostility to the coloured races, was signally unfitted for his position, published a most calumnious report, to which Sir Henry Pottinger, to his great discredit, gave credence and circulation. The Kat River settlers vainly demanded inquiry and redress; but the expressions of indignant surprise|| called forth throughout the colony, and the urgent remonstrances of Sir A. Stockenstrom, led to the removal of Mr. Biddulph, who was thereupon appointed to a more lucrative magisterial position in another part of the colony. Mr. Bowker, sufferings of this unfortunate settlement were proportionately greater than those of any other section of the frontier; out of the 100 lives lost on the side of the British, ten belonged to the Kat River community.

§ Dr. Innes' Report; Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 413.

|| The *Commercial Advertiser* drew especial notice to the fact, that in three years, 1845, '6, '7, only two clear cases of crime had been proved against the whole Kat River population. One of these was a petty theft, the other an assault.

the person selected to fill his place, was equally, if not more obnoxious to the people. His avowed contempt and hostility towards the coloured races had been severely commented on in 1845 by the colonial secretary in the Legislative Council, and on the present occasion he had made himself conspicuous by publishing a letter in a Graham's Town paper, vindicating the statements of Mr. Biddulph.\* The placing this man over the settlement, while yet ranking under the ill-treatment of the magistrate who had just been removed, was therefore felt as a deliberate insult. Nor was this all; having no means of repairing their dams and canals for irrigation, having lost their oxen in the war, and being thereby unable to plough, the Hottentots set to work felling timber in the forests of the settlement, cutting it into planks, and conveying it as they best could to markets, distant 60, 80, or 100 miles or more. In a short time they had 90 saw-pits at work. While thus striving to eke out a hard livelihood, they were informed that not only would no remuneration for losses and no rewards for services be given them, but that "all previous privileges or immunities granted or sanctioned, with respect to cutting wood in their own rocky ravines, were now abrogated or annulled," and that for licence to cut each separate load, six shillings must be paid to government.

Surely no more certain way of sowing broadcast the seeds of disaffection among a numerous and well-conducted body of people, could have been adopted, than the ungrateful, not to say malicious, spirit thus evinced towards them.

The course pursued towards the Kafirs was scarcely less impolitic. The theft of some eighteen goats by one of Sandilli's tribe, and the alleged participation of the chief in the plunder, was made the pretext for an attempt to seize him during the night,

\* Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 414.

† Twenty-four men of the Kafir police formed a portion of this ill-advised expedition. This force had been established partly by the late and partly by the existing governor. In time of peace it answered admirably, in war it proved worse than a failure.

‡ Among the measures adopted at this time was the flogging system, by which all Kafir thieves captured by patrols, or sent in by chiefs, were to be "publicly and soundly flogged."—Parl. Papers, February, 1848; p. 141.

§ Sandilli (through Mr. Brownlee, the Gaika commissioner appointed by Governor Smith) has since given a very different version of this affair, stating that "he was invited by Colonel Somerset, through Major Bisset, to come to Colonel Buller's

a measure which Sir H. Pottinger considered would have "the most salutary lasting effect on all the chiefs and people of Kafirland."† The attempt failed, and Burn's Hill, near which Sandilli's kraal was situated, again witnessed the signal defeat of the invading party. The chief was thenceforth proclaimed a rebel, and his people were denounced for having retained their muskets and used them in his defence. Preparations were made for entering and devastating his country, from which he was to be for ever expelled, and Sir Henry Pottinger, as an encouragement to the burghers to join him, restored the old commando system, and authorized the burghers to appropriate any spoil they could seize.‡ Famine and the sword once again threatened to ravage his unhappy tribe, when Sandilli essayed to stay the uplifted hand by the voluntary surrender§ of himself and eighty of his chief men, including his brother Anta and several of his counsellors.||

This occurred in October (1847): in the following month, Sir H. Pottinger was succeeded by Sir Harry Smith.¶ The first public act of the new governor was, however, little calculated to impress the beholders with an idea of the sound judgment and discretion so necessary at this crisis; nor indeed could it in any way add to the brilliant reputation for personal bravery achieved by the hero of Aliwal during his Indian career. On landing at Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), on the 14th of December, his excellency was cordially greeted by the entire population, among whom was Macomo. Sir Harry recognised him, half drew his sword from its scabbard, shook it at him, and stamped his foot on the ground. Shortly after he sent for the chief, who, upon being introduced, extended his hand, in return for which his excellency gave him his foot, collared him, laid him prostrate, put his foot upon his camp to make peace, with the assurance that nothing should be done to him; that on going to the camp, trusting in this assurance, and with the intention of returning at night to his hiding-place, he was made a prisoner, and sent to Graham's Town.—Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 41.

|| Sir Harry Smith states that in this "bit of a brush with Sandilli, £56,000 were expended in wagon hire alone."—Parl. Papers, July, 1848; p. 39.

¶ The immediate ground of Sir H. Smith's appointment was probably the statement laid by him before the Duke of Wellington, that with an army of 4,000 men in all, 2,000 for defence and 2,000 for invasion, the Kafirs might be completely subdued in two or three weeks.—Parl. Papers, February, 1848; p. 111.



neck, and then brandished his sword over his head. This part of the story was related far and wide; and the prestige of Sir Harry's name was accepted as an apology for the violation of common decency: but the narrators have generally omitted to add, that Macomo, on rising, looked the governor quietly in the face, remarking—"I always thought you a great man till this day."\*

Sandilli and his counsellors were subsequently compelled to go through the degrading ceremony of kissing the governor's foot, who then sent them back to their own people. On the 7th January, 1848, a great assembly was held, at which Sandilli, Macomo, and all the leading chiefs and counsellors of British Kaffraria were present, as also Umterara and Mapassa, the principal Tambookie chiefs; Madoor, the Bushman chief; and a deputation of six or eight counsellors from Kreili. The programme of this meeting, as laid down by Sir H. Smith, excited much surprise. First, a prayer of his own composition, in which the Kafirs were made to express their repentance for having made war upon the English, was translated into the Kafir language, and offered up by a Wesleyan minister, on behalf of these heathens, to the God of the Christians. Then two emblems—one being a very long broomstick, with a brass door-handle at the top, the other a serjeant's halberd—were shown to the chiefs; the first being supposed to designate peace;

the other, war. The stick of peace being chosen with acclamation, the stick of war was thrown away. Sir Harry proceeded to inform the chiefs, that he should form no treaty with them; that he had taken possession of their country; but would permit them to occupy such parts of it as he thought fit, on condition of their annually bringing a bullock, in token of submission. In future, he added, they were to acknowledge no ruler but himself; he, as the representative of the Queen of England, was to be their *Inkosi Inkulu*, or great chief. The Kafirs attempted to remonstrate. Pato boldly stated, that the people would listen to the "word of Sandilli, the son of Gaika, chief of all;" whereupon the governor brandished the stick of war, violently exclaiming, "No Sandilli! I am the great chief." Further to intimidate the Kafirs, a waggon was blown up by means of an electric battery; and they were told that if they ever attempted to attack another, they would be blown up with it. Thus ended this strange scene. The chiefs departed, as they afterwards declared, with "their talk still in their hearts;" for of remonstrance, much less complaint, the governor refused to hear one word. Kafirland was then divided into counties, towns, and villages, bearing English names; its "rich and (in many parts) extensive tracts of fertile land" were publicly announced for sale,† and military villages established in various localities.‡ The

\* Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 387.

† Proclamation dated 23rd December, 1847.

‡ The state of these villages in June, 1848, is thus shown in the Parl. Papers, of May 3, 1849; p. 16:—

| Villages.        | Officers. | Non-Com. Officers. | Privates. | Women. | Children. | Total. |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| Juanasberg . . . | 1         | 5                  | 65        | 2      | 2         | 75     |
| Woburn . . . .   | 1         | 4                  | 66        | —      | —         | 71     |
| Auckland . . .   | —         | 9                  | 54        | 12     | 42        | 115    |
| Ely . . . . .    | —         | 1                  | 43        | 3      | 11        | 58     |
| Total . . . .    | 2         | 19                 | 228       | 17     | 55        | 319    |

To one of these villages a very disgraceful story is attached. The celebrated Gaiika chief, Tyalie, died in 1844. Among the common people little attention is paid to the rites or place of sepulture; but the veneration felt for the chiefs is extended even to their dead bodies, and Tyalie (Sandilli's uncle) having been an influential leader, famous for his strength and courage, and fine person, was buried with no ordinary pomp. His people did their utmost to honour and perpetuate his memory. In the grave were deposited the cloak, saddle, assagais, and other articles

considered to appertain peculiarly to the deceased. His hut and all the rest of the kraal were abandoned according to Kafir usage, and from the time of the burial the grave was carefully watched by faithful clansmen with superstitious reverence. After the war of 1846, his widow and children were driven to the opposite side of the river on which the tomb was situated, and forbidden under heavy penalties to return; and on a portion of the land of which the family and clansmen of Tyalie had been deprived, was planted the military village of Woburn,—the disbanded soldiers being purposely located there, to prevent the Kafirs crossing the river to the beautiful spot which had been the great place of the tribe. Their feelings at this expulsion may be easily imagined; as if to exasperate them to the highest degree, the honoured grave of Tyalie was violated, and pillaged of the articles buried with the chief. The *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church*, in which many particulars are related, says that the disbanded soldiers at Woburn "proved to be men of the most worthless character;" and the Rev. H. Renton stated before the Parliamentary Committee of 1851, that "in the whole village there was not a married man, but every man had his concubine." The outrage committed on Tyalie's burial-place was represented to the authorities, and strong disapprobation expressed, but no punishment was inflicted on the perpetrators; and "in its rifled state

English money, so lavishly spent during the war, had not all been bestowed upon the Kafirs in the form of powder and shot; a very large proportion of it was now ready to be invested in the purchase of their land. Thus Sir H. Smith, in making a tour through what he termed British Kaffraria, found "everywhere traders and their followers, adventurers, farmers, and landholders, all vociferous for the purchase of land; all desirous to avail themselves of the present state of things, *and the prospect of future security* (?) by investing the enormous sums of money which many have amassed in the confusion and disorder which war creates."\*

In fact, Sir H. Smith reintroduced the D'Urban system, of taking by force, and keeping by force. The Kafirs, prostrated by the two-fold scourge of war and famine, could but brood over their wrongs, and bide their time. A partial attempt to introduce among them the elements of civilization was made, by agricultural implements being sent from England by the British government, the Aborigines Protection Society, and by the Society of Friends; yet after all it must have seemed little better than a hollow mockery to take the best portion of their land from them with one hand, and give them instruments for cultivation with the other. Here, too, most mistaken notions of economy prevailed. From our very earliest dealings with our warlike neighbours, the same error had marked every step of our proceedings. We never sought to purchase land by the free consent of chiefs, counselors, and people; to found among them schools in which they should be taught first religious knowledge, the only sure basis of all other, then to the men the rudiments of agriculture and mechanics, and to the women, of housewifely duties. We never strove to induce them to endeavour, by draining, fencing, irrigation, &c., to improve their own land. The well-directed zeal of individuals, self-formed into societies, did something of this kind; but to have full effect, such essays must have the authority and stanch support of government. It cannot be too strongly borne in mind, that a few thousands, judi-

ciously expended, in all human probability would have spared the outlay of as many millions, and with this great difference, that in that case we might have confidently hoped for a blessing on our national efforts.

On taking possession of the country of the Kafirs, the question arose, how to raise a revenue for their government. The large sum obtainable by the sale of their land was not considered sufficient, and Sir H. Smith proposed to introduce a system of direct taxation by the imposition of an annual capitation tax of one shilling per head. The colonial commissioner, Colonel Mackinnon, appears to have procured the abandonment of this measure by forcibly pointing out its impolicy and injustice; declaring that it would be next to impossible to raise it, and that besides, in laying down the law to the chiefs at the great meeting, no mention whatever had been made of any tax to be levied on them. There was the less excuse for such a proposition, because considerable revenue was, in various ways, already derived from the Kafirs. Thus, in all cases of theft, a fine was exacted for the government of double the amount of the cattle stolen, after compensating the owner for the loss; the chiefs, on some occasions, were made to pay for the spoor (trace) of stolen cattle followed to their locations; and all cattle and horses found straying, and unclaimed within a limited time, were confiscated. For the six months ending July, 1848, the fines levied amounted to £419:8s., and Kafir cattle to the amount of £100 was, besides, then in the government kraals.†

The consumption of taxed articles was rapidly increasing among the Kafirs, in whose territory no less than thirty-eight general traders were at this time established, each paying £50 annually for a licence; and therefore, it is to be presumed, doing a large amount of business by selling blankets, clothes, handkerchiefs, hoes, axes, spades, beads, copper wire, tobacco, sugar; most of them articles of British manufacture, and paying on their arrival in the colony duties varying from five to twelve per cent. Arms and ammunition, doubtless, formed a large though unavowed portion of the traffic,

\* Despatch from Governor Smith, dated January 14th, 1848. In a subsequent communication dated March 23rd, 1848, Sir Harry states that the settlers in the eastern districts "having, generally speaking, acquired large fortunes by the war expenditure," were prepared to pay large prices for the newly annexed land.—Parl. Papers, May, 1849; p. 7.

† Parl. Papers, May, 1849; pp. 18, 19.



and the extraordinary amount which the Kafirs were subsequently found to possess, proved how sedulous and unceasing they had been in their acquisition, during a period when they were described as completely subjugated, though they were in reality kept down by nothing less than the unceasing pressure of a coercive system, scarcely less wearisome and exhausting to the ruling than to the ruled party.

During the temporary cessation of hostilities with the Kafirs, the colony, so far from enjoying internal tranquillity, became the scene of discord and excitement. The cause of this unhappy state of things requires special notice, because it induced the assumption on the part of the colonists of an opposing attitude, and bore the semblance of ingratitude towards the mother country, whose resources had been so freely drawn upon for their defence. Extension of boundary had been constantly deprecated by the home government, whose sanction to each addition had been given reluctantly, and solely in compliance with urgent representations from the colony. Nevertheless, in defence of territory thus acquired, and in most cases freely granted, no cost was spared. Under these circumstances it might have been supposed that whatever temporary cause of dissension should occur, its effects would speedily pass away. And so it is to be hoped they have done, as far as England is concerned, but the stormy epoch at which we now arrive has not failed to leave sad traces of party spirit and disunion among the settlers themselves, and to awaken long dormant prejudices.

**THE CONVICT QUESTION.**—In consequence of no criminals being sent to New South Wales after the year 1840, and of Van Diemen's Land being overcrowded with them, the subject of transportation had become extremely embarrassing to the British government. The difficulty had been increased by the convictions connected with the agrarian disturbances in Ireland, arising from famine and political excitement. The average number of transports from Ireland had risen rapidly from 627 in 1845, to 708 in 1846, 2,208 in 1847, 2,729 in 1848, and 3,039 in 1849. The prisons throughout the United Kingdom were full, nor could any more be received in the hulks at Bermuda and Gibraltar, where convicts were employed in strengthening the fortifications. The government, instead of founding a new penal settlement in some distant part of the

empire, as suggested with regard to Queen Charlotte's Island in the Northern Pacific, (see Vol. I., page 350,) or at the Falkland Islands in the Southern Ocean, resolved to distribute the convicts among certain of the colonies, under the authority of an act of parliament (5 Geo. IV.), which empowers the sovereign, with the advice of the privy council, to appoint any place in H.M. dominions for the transportation of felons and others under sentence of banishment beyond the seas. Accordingly, in September, 1848, an order in council was passed, whereby the secretary of state was authorized to select such colonies as he deemed advisable for the reception of convicts, especially such as had undergone some punishment and probation, whether in prisons at home, at Bermuda, or at Gibraltar.

A circular was sent by Earl Grey to the governors of several colonies (including the Cape of Good Hope), calling upon them to ascertain the opinions of the colonists as to the reception of convicts, in order that if they desired it, a certain class of these might be sent them.

The proposition to send criminals to the Cape of Good Hope, did not, however, originate with Earl Grey; by Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Gladstone, when respectively at the head of the Colonial Office, the same idea had been entertained.\* Moreover, Mr. Fairbairn and Dr. Adamson, the popular leaders of the anti-convict agitation in 1848-'9, had some years before suggested, that English convicts might be beneficially employed in the construction of a breakwater at Table Bay. It is evident from the despatches and private letters of Earl Grey to Sir H. Smith, that the motives of his lordship were benevolent as regarded the convicts, and politic in his opinion as regarded both the State and the colonies. Unfortunately, without waiting to hear the opinion of the inhabitants, a vessel laden with 289 transports, was despatched to the Cape of Good Hope. Some of these were men who had been convicted for crimes in Ireland, which were said to have been, to some extent, incited by the famine and the insurrectionary and treasonable proceedings of John Mitchell, (who was on board the *Neptune*), and his ill-advised colleagues. The prisoners were considered deserving of tickets of leave; and, on landing, were to be dispersed throughout the colony and left to gain their own livelihood. As an inducement

\* House of Commons Debate, February 14, 1850.

ment to the Cape colonists to receive them, the governor was informed in a despatch, dated 18th July, 1848,\* that parliament had voted a sum of money for the passage of free emigrants in proportion to the convicts, whose wives and children would also be sent out, and that military pensioners would form their guard instead of soldiers from the regiments of the line; such pensioners and their families would thus increase the supply of labour, and contribute to the elements of security and of good order. The emigration of females was also to be specially encouraged, particularly of well-conducted girls, carefully selected from the workhouses in different parts of the kingdom. The colonists were, however, unanimous in rejecting these offers; they assembled in the different districts, in their local boards, or under their sectional religious denominations, and in various forms addressed petitions to the crown, the secretary of state, and the governor, praying that no convicts might be sent to the Cape.

The news arrived that the *Neptune* was actually on her way; and information likewise reached the colony, that European soldiers, transported from the regiments serving in the East Indies, Ceylon, or Mauritius, and whose numbers ranged from twenty to fifty yearly, were, under the provisions of the Mutiny Act, ordered to be located at the Cape. A perfect panic pervaded the colony; everything else was merged in the one idea of the Cape being made a penal settlement, or, as it was said, a "cess-pool" for the expelled vice and pollution of the United Kingdom, and the soldiery serving in the East. Besides this, it was feared, and not without reason, that political and military convicts would soon find their way among the Kafirs and neighbouring tribes, and by their talents render the aborigines more dangerous than ever.

As the colonists lacked the means of expressing their desires, which a representative assembly affords, they established an *Anti-Convict Association*, with branches throughout the country districts, binding themselves, by a pledge, to drop all intercourse with persons, of whatever description, concerned in "landing, supplying, or employing convicts." Banks, insurance-offices, and associated companies of every kind, concurred in this determination. On account of some transactions in preceding periods, the Legislative Council had become

so unpopular, that a resolution was formed to get rid of it. There being several vacancies, measures were taken to prevent these being filled up, and to remove existing members, "so that no unofficial person should hold a seat."

The governor was necessarily placed in a very difficult position. He appears to have partially sided with the colonists in their resistance, but yet to have made various injudicious attempts to counteract the influence of the agitating party, by offering pecuniary accommodation, from the public treasury, to men of no public weight, as an inducement to become members of the Legislative Council, and by obscure threats of employing "military measures."

The Anti-convict Association had secured the adhesion to their measures of all contractors employed in supplying any branch of the public service, engaging to indemnify them for all penalties to which they might be subjected by breach of contract. The farmers and dealers of every kind had pledged themselves to refuse supplies to any persons who might be pointed out to them as favouring the introduction of convicts; and thus preparation was made to place the government in a state of helpless isolation, if the obnoxious measure were persisted in.

On the 19th of September, 1849, the *Neptune* and her dreaded freight reached Simon's Bay. When the intelligence reached Cape Town, 24 miles distant, the alarm was given; the bells of the churches tolled, the gong at the town-hall sounded, and great excitement prevailed. At eleven o'clock a letter was sent from the Cape Town municipal board to the governor, informing him that "the people have determined that the convicts must not, cannot, and shall not, be landed or be kept in any of the ports of this colony."† And in order "to remove the cause of the anxiety now prevailing, and to obviate the evil consequences which may result therefrom, and for which his excellency would be responsible," he was entreated to direct that the *Neptune*, after revictualling, should immediately leave the colony. The governor had already refused to accept the consignment of the vessel, or to pass her through the custom-house, directing or permitting that the charge of her should fall upon the naval authorities at Simon's Town.

He now, for the first time since his accession to office, assembled the Executive

\* Parl Papers, January 31, 1850; p. 144.

† Parl. Papers, January 21, 1850, p. 99.



Council, which approved of all the measures he had taken, but concurred in opinion with him that to dismiss the vessel or change her destination to England, or to any other colony, was contrary to law, and beyond the limits of his authority. His excellency, however, offered a pledge that he would resign his office rather than assist in carrying out any measure for landing the convicts, whereupon a considerable portion of the Anti-convict Association, seeing no farther reason to oppose the local government, desired that the interdiction against supplying the navy should be withdrawn, and tranquillity restored. Hitherto the British and Dutch colonists had acted with perfect unanimity, but, in the discussion of this question, there arose a diversity of feelings and purposes likely to have a great effect on the future of the colony. Being outvoted in their endeavours to secure peace, several of the leading members of the British population receded from all further interference with the matter, still, however, keeping aloof from Sir H. Smith, on the plea of want of confidence. The opposing party extended their operations, and included the navy and the whole body of the executive and judicial agents of the government under their interdiction. The object of this movement, which was to remove the vessel from her anchorage, failed, and the discomfort and annoyance occasioned to individuals, created alienation in a community hitherto full of friendly feeling.\*

When H.M. ministers became acquainted with the disturbed state of affairs at the Cape, orders were forwarded, changing the destination of the *Neptune* to Van Diemen's Island, and directing that any military convicts arriving from India should be despatched to England.

On the 14th February, 1850, the Anti-convict Association was formally dissolved. The funds which had been collected were ordered to be distributed in aid of those on whom fines and penalties had been imposed for the violation of government contracts, and a sum of money was voted to supply the convicts on board the *Neptune* with some comforts previous to their departure from Simon's Bay, where they had been detained 153 days. The surgeon-superin-

tendent, an excellent man, named Deas, had died shortly after his arrival at the Cape, worn out with the anxieties of the voyage, during which seven prisoners had perished, his end being doubtless accelerated by the disappointment of finding the unfortunate prisoners prevented from landing.

The next important event in the history of the colony was Sir H. Smith's assumption, on behalf of the crown, of the sovereignty of an extensive territory situated on the north-eastern frontier of the colony. His proceedings in this matter have been much canvassed, but the evidence at present published is scarcely sufficient to allow of an impartial reader arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. The following facts, derived chiefly from parliamentary papers, show the steps which immediately led to this fresh extension of the boundary:—

THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY.†—Prior as well as subsequent to the establishment of British dominion in Southern Africa, the boors residing on the north-eastern frontier, when suffering from the droughts to which the Graaf Reynet and adjoining districts are subject, were in the habit of driving their flocks for temporary herbage to the northern bank of the Orange River, or, properly speaking, to that branch of it known as the *Nu Gariep*, in contradistinction to the more northerly channel, called the *Ky Gariep*, or *Faal River*. The country was then thinly inhabited by various native tribes. The miserable remnant of the Bosjesmen derived a precarious subsistence from the uncultivated roots and wild animals which abounded along the valleys of the aforesaid streams and their tributaries. The Corannas, another Hottentot race, but little superior to the Bosjesmen in civilization, likewise dwelt there; but its principal native proprietors were various branches of the great BECHUANA nation, whom some consider closely allied to the Kafirs, while others describe them as occupying a middle place between the Kafirs and the Hottentots, being less intelligent and warlike than the former, but more energetic than the latter. One powerful section of the Bechuanas, named the Bassutos, dwelt in the territory extending between the White Mountains, on the east, and the Caledon (a tributary stream), on the west; while a very considerable tract of country to the south-westward, extending along either bank of the Nu Gariep or Orange River, and also along the Orange River itself, after the junction of the Nu and Ky Gariep, came in process of time to be occupied by the unfortunate mulatto race, called Bastards, of whose origin mention has been previously made. The Griquas are a tribe or section of the Bastards,‡ who, towards the close of the last century, sought refuge from oppression and contumely, among the native tribes beyond the limits of the colony.

\* *Notes on Cape Affairs*: by J. Adamson, D.D.; London, 1851.

† This section is given in small type to save space.

‡ The difference now observable between the Griquas and the Bastards consists chiefly in the pre-

dominance of Hottentot characteristics in the former, and those of the Dutch in the latter. The Griqua features are better defined, the complexion darker, hair more crisp, bearing more manly, with generally less of the mongrel than the Bastard. Both are indolent and apathetic; they speak the same language.

They migrated under the leadership of Adam Kok, a negro slave, who, by dint of industry and labour, had succeeded in purchasing his freedom, and led a wandering life, until induced by the unwearied exertions of the excellent missionary, Anderson, who joined himself to them in the year 1800, to forsake their nomadic habits and establish themselves at a spot called *Klaar Water*. This designation Mr. Campbell persuaded them (in 1813) to change for that of Griqua Town, and to call themselves Griquas instead of Bastards, their new name being apparently an abbreviation of Chergriquois, the appellation given to a tribe, many of whose members connected themselves with Adam Kok. There is evidence that the Griquas honestly purchased at least some of the land of which they took possession from its Bushmen aborigines.—(Parl. Papers, August, 1836, p. 620.) The subsequent separation of the Griquas, under Waterboer and Adam Kok, and the treaty entered into with the former branch, have been already mentioned, (see page 62), and likewise the increasing aggression of the border farmers.

This evil had augmented with the disaffection of the boors. Thus—"in 1834, there were said to be about 1,500 boors on the other side of the Orange River, and for the most part in the Griqua country. Of these there were 700 boors, for several months during that year, in the district of Phillipolis [the town founded by Adam Kok] alone, with at least £700,000 sheep, cattle, and horses. Besides destroying the pastures of this people, in many instances their corn-fields were destroyed by them; and, in some cases, they took possession of their houses," at the same time declaring, that if the Griquas complained to the government, the result would be, that the country would be entirely taken from them, and granted to the boors.—(Vide Dr. Philip's evidence before the Committee of 1836, p. 626.) The influence of the missionaries, or rather of the Christian principles which they had succeeded in inculcating, alone prevented bloodshed; but some encouragement was afforded the Griquas and other natives, by the enactment of the law which made offences against them punishable as if committed in the colony.

In 1836 the boors commenced quitting the colony in organised communities, intending to settle down at Natal, which they supposed still belonged to the Dutch, the British government having refused to sanction the formation of a settlement there. They were resisted in their attempted occupation by Dingaan, a ferocious ruler of the Zoolus; but having beaten him, they proclaimed the establishment of a Batavian republic. This roused the attention of the British government; the boors were subdued by force of arms, and the sovereignty of England proclaimed over Natal. The invaders then migrated to the westward, passed the Drakenberg range of mountains, and well provided with horses, arms, and ammunition, settled chiefly beyond the Vaal River, on lands which had been laid waste by the Almsiligas Zoolus, belonging to Moshesh, chief of the Bassutos, Sinkonyella, a Mantatee chief, and others. They likewise leased from the Griquas of Phillipolis, under Adam Kok, considerable tracts. Having formed themselves into an independent government, they nominated a chief, landdrosts, field-cornets, and volksraads, and imitated, as far as possible, the institutions of the colony they had quitted.

The Griquas of the Phillipolis district, and the Bassutos, dreading the increasing power of the boors, repeatedly besought the British government

to receive and recognise them as allies; but this was long refused, because it was feared that it might entail the necessity of marching troops for their defence against the emigrants. At length, in 1843, urgent representations were made by the Phillipolis missionaries that the leases of several fountains were about to expire, and that therefore a crisis was at hand. If no treaty were made with Adam Kok, the boors would not scruple to retain forcible possession of the land after the termination of the leases, and the Griquas could not be restrained from going to war to defend their rights. Upon this, the then governor, Sir George Napier, formed treaties with Adam Kok and Moshesh, similar to that entered into with Waterboer. In 1845-'6, the interference of the government became imperative, to prevent a war of extermination between the boors and the Griquas, the former of whom deprecated, while the latter earnestly craved, its mediation. A British resident was placed at Bloem Fontein, and a treaty entered into by Sir Peregrine Maitland with the Griquas, which, after distinctly recognising their right to the lands leased by them to the farmers, declared "a certain portion of the country to be alienable, and the other portion inalienable;" and arranged that the Griquas should receive half the amount of the quit-rent claimed by the government from the farmers, whether occupying one district or the other.

In 1848, Sir Harry Smith visited the Griqua country. He found the emigrant boors in a very uncomfortable position; they deplored the lack of christian and civilized ordinances, whereby they were unable to marry, or baptize the new-born according to the rites to which they had been accustomed; they acknowledged that they were under no defined government, were unprovided with ministers of the gospel, schools, &c., and were rapidly falling into a state of savage life.

Addresses were presented to the governor signed by the inhabitants between the Orange, Modder, and Riet rivers, as also from those around Bloem Fontein, from the Caledon River, and from Winberg and its neighbourhood. In compliance with the general opinion thus expressed, and after consultation with the leading chiefs and their missionary instructors, Sir H. Smith issued a proclamation (3rd February, 1848), (Parl. Papers, July, 1848, p. 63), declarative of the *sovereignty* of the Queen of England over the territories north of the Great Orange River, including the countries of Moshesh (the *Bassutos*), Maroko (the *Barolonys*), Molitsani (the *Bataung*), Sinkonyella (the *Mantatees*), Adam Kok (the *Griquas*), Gert Taayboosch (the *Corannas*), and other minor chiefs, as far north as the Vaal or Gariep River, and eastward to the Drakenberg or Quathalamba Mountains. The chiefs and their people were not to be deprived of their hereditary rights, but to be upheld and protected from any future aggression on the part of H.M. subjects. The Queen, through the high commissioner, to have exclusive authority in all international disputes as to territory or to any cause tending to interrupt the general harmony. The laws, customs, and usages of the several tribes to be maintained; but all H.M. subjects residing within the aforesaid territories to be governed by the laws, &c., in force in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and to be entitled to the rights of citizens as if dwelling in the colony. Quit-rents to be paid by British subjects in fair remuneration to the native chiefs for the lands heretofore held under lease. A



revenue to be raised by a land tax and trading licenses, such revenue to be appropriated for the payment of British resident magistrates, constables, surveyors, field-cornets, clergymen, schoolmasters, &c. A Legislative Council was established at Bloem Fontein, for the management of the affairs of British subjects residing within the sovereignty, consisting of four official, and eight unofficial members (two for each district), elected by the people, the whole presided over by the British resident. This council was empowered to make local laws, and to levy and appropriate taxes. Its authority extended over all people within the sovereignty not members of any tribe under a recognised chief, and over all persons in regard to acts done within such parts of the sovereignty as were not presided over by native chiefs, whose subjects were guaranteed in the full possession of their own laws and usages, when "not repugnant to decency, humanity, or natural religion." Four districts were formed: 1st, Griqua Land, (comprising *Bloem Fontein*, and the *Queen's Fort*;) 2nd, *Winberg*; 3rd, the *Vaal River* (*Vrededorp*); 4th, *Caledon River* (*Smithfield*).—Parl. Papers, May, 1851, p. 3.

Previous to issuing the proclamation of British sovereignty, the governor entered into a fresh treaty (24th January, 1848) with Adam Kok, the Griqua chief, whereby the lands held by the emigrant boors on a forty years' lease were to become freeholds, in consideration of a fixed payment of £300 a-year; and British subjects holding lands in the inalienable territory of Adam Kok were, as their leases expired, to quit their farms, on receiving payment for the value (to be fixed by a commission) of the buildings and improvements made on such lands; failing payment, the lessee to retain possession, subject to an annual rental to be subsequently determined.

According to the statements of the late Rev. J. J. Freeman and others, this new arrangement with respect to land was made wholly to conciliate the boors, at the expense of the Griquas.\* Adam Kok and his councillors (among them the famous Hendrik Hendriks) protested forcibly against the breach of faith committed in the abrogation of the Maitland treaty, to which they desired to adhere, and were only compelled to sign the new one by Sir H. Smith's threat of hanging them on the spot if they did not do so.† The £300 per annum they absolutely refused to receive as remuneration for the whole of the alienable territory, complaining, moreover, that while the treaty specified that they were to receive that sum for the farms actually let on a forty years' lease, the government virtually deprived them of all the other farms, likewise including many—say one hundred and fifty out of three hundred—which the Griqua proprietors had either not let at all, or let only for shorter periods, as five, ten, or twenty years.‡ They had other grievances, into which it is unnecessary to enter. Moshesh, on his part, willingly waived his right to his share of the quit-rents due from the farmers who had established themselves in his dominions, declaring, that he was too glad to encourage the resort of the queen of England's subjects; whereupon Sir H. Smith "highly

complimented and thanked the great chief Moshesh, stating, that he was unable to express himself as to which he admired most—his feelings as a man, or his magnanimity as a chief.§ Moshesh would indeed seem to be a very extraordinary individual: he has won golden opinions from men widely different in position and character—soldiers and civilians, missionaries and travellers, speak in high terms of his statesmanlike views and steady rectitude; but none bear stronger testimony than the devoted minister of the gospel, M. Cassilis, whose labours among the people of this chief have been so richly rewarded.

In July, 1848, a Dutch boor, named Pretorius, who had been one of the chief leaders of the great emigration of 1836, and had become well known for his proceedings at Natal, collected a force of about two or three hundred of his discontented and wandering countrymen, with whom he entered the Orange River sovereignty, where by threats, persuasions, and false representations, others were induced to join him, until a force of 1,000 men was collected, who named him their commandant-general. Having heard of the commotions in Europe, and surmising that England was likely to be engaged in war, Pretorius considered this a favourable opportunity for the destruction of British dominion in South Africa. He appears to have imagined that many of the colonists would join in his enterprise, and that he would be elected president of a Dutch South African republic. Panda, chief of the Quabius, commonly misnamed Zoolus, was solicited to co-operate, as were also Moshesh, Adam Kok, and other chiefs. After a fruitless endeavour, on 13th July, 1848, to seize Major Warden, the British resident in the sovereignty, Pretorius encamped within two miles of Bloem Fontein, and invested the place with 400 mounted men. Having only 56 men, and 200 women and children in the place, Major Warden capitulated, and was allowed to retire to Colesberg with the public and private property.

Sir H. Smith heard of these proceedings on 22nd July at Cape Town, and immediately proclaimed Pretorius a rebel, and offered a reward of £1,000 for his apprehension. With great promptitude a military force, consisting of four companies of the Cape corps, three guns (six pounders), two companies 45th, two companies 91st, and two companies rifle brigade, were ordered to march from the east frontier on Colesberg, and the right wing of the 73rd regiment was sent by sea to Natal to reinforce the garrison there, as Pretorius threatened that Panda with his forces would soon accomplish the destruction of British power in that settlement.

On 9th August, the governor reached Colesberg, safely and quickly passed the troops, guns, horses, baggage, and waggons, across the Orange River, there 200 yards wide, and extremely rapid, by means of an admirable invention termed the Pontoon float, which had been sent from Chatham to the Cape, aided by a raft composed of casks, &c. Pretorius did not dispute the passage, but having hastily broken up his camp, he fell back on Winberg, plundering and committing such excesses on the isolated farm-houses, that in one district, Caledon River, 500 fami-

\* It has been too much the policy of the colonial government to conciliate the strong at the expense of the weak, the disorderly to the injury of the peaceably-disposed. Even Waterboer, our old and faithful ally, has been recently deprived of a large tract of country.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1851, p. 35.

‡ *Idem*, pp. 31–44.

§ *Vide* a memorandum, dated 27th of January, 1848, drawn up by Sir H. Smith, and signed by him as high commissioner, and by Moshesh.

lies fled in a panic, without attempting to defend their property. Moshesh and other chiefs at once offered to support the British government, but Sir H. Smith advised them to "sit still," as he was desirous of proving to them that the force he had brought with him was sufficient to chastise Pretorius. Being joined by Adam Kok and a few Griquas, the troops, on the 27th August, furnished with thirty days' commissariat supplies, marched from the right bank of the Orange River to Phillipolis, and thence to a small stream (*Visser's Hoek*), where the governor learned that Pretorius, and 1,000 mounted boors, were strongly posted on a succession of hills situated on either side of the Kroem Elboch River, (or Crooked Elbow River), a position well calculated to interrupt the progress of his opponents. Considerable military skill was evinced in the plan of attack; the Cape rifles, unable to withstand the heavy fire from the boors' long guns, were ordered back; a rapid cannonade was opened by our three howitzers, the rifle brigade attacked the enemy on the left, the 45th their left centre, and the 91st their right centre. The boors fought desperately; dismounting and firing over the saddle as a rest. On the right they descended the hills, and advanced rapidly into the plain with a view to turn the British left flank, and attack the commissariat. Sir Harry Smith says, "I have seldom seen a sharper skirmish; their impetuosity exposed their left to the fire of one of our guns, by which they were checked, and the 'gallant Hottentots,' nobly headed by their officers, then drove them back pell-mell into the hills." The boors, driven from one side of the river, endeavoured obstinately, but in vain, to hold a higher position on the opposite bank, and then retreated to a neck in the ridge, from which they were likewise driven, and hotly pursued by the British, until Pretorius sought safety in flight.

Of the boors, forty-nine\* were left dead on the field of action, and their wounded were numerous. The British had one officer killed (Captain Murray, of the Rifle Brigade), and six severely hurt. Eight of the regular troops were killed and thirty-nine wounded. Two of the prisoners (one a young Dutch boor, the other a British deserter,) were tried by court-martial at Bloem Fontein, found guilty, and executed; others were pardoned, and resumed their allegiance; a contribution of £6,000 was levied from such of the insurgents as were recognised, to defray the expenses of the war; a fort, with some nine-pounder guns, was erected at Bloem Fontein, and a small detachment of regular troops stationed there to prevent the British resident being again exposed to the necessity of quitting his station on any future outbreak. Pretorius and some of his followers fled beyond the Vaal River, and were joined from time to time by other discontented persons. They have settled down in a fine tract of country, between 20° and 27° S. lat., watered by several streams, and by a large river called the *Limpopo*,

which is supposed to terminate in Delagoa Bay. Here they have established an independent republic, and may probably become a numerous and powerful people, whose sway and influence for good or evil will extend to the fertile and salubrious districts of Central Africa.—[See chapter on Topography.]

WAR OF 1851.—Our information respecting the causes which more immediately led to the present war is vague and insufficient, but the root of the evil was clearly the re-seizure of Kafirland, consequent upon our violation of the treaties entered into in 1836.† About the middle of the year 1850, intelligence reached Cape Town that considerable excitement had been created among the Kafirs, by the eloquence of a fanatic or impostor named Umlanjeni. The chiefs, who daily beheld their influence and revenue dwindling away under the existing system, were accused of encouraging this self-styled prophet, who was widely believed to possess supernatural power, and to be in fact no less a person than the famous Makanna, or Lynx, who had played so conspicuous a part in the war of 1819‡ (*vide* p. 57), returned for their especial protection. In August, Captain Maclean, the commissioner of the Zlambie tribes, ordered Umlanjeni to appear before him to answer the charge of having set himself up for a witch-doctor and rain-maker, a character formerly held in high estimation by the superstitious Kafirs; but the police who were sent to apprehend him forbore doing so on account of the prostrate and emaciated state in which they found him. Umkye, the chief to whose tribe he belonged, declared, that so far from upholding such practices, he was doing a great deal of good by preaching to the Kafirs the evil consequences of witchcraft and murder. Five days after this an attempt was again made to capture the person of Umlanjeni; he could not be found, but the dwelling in which he had held interviews with the Kafir chiefs was destroyed.§

The forbidden meetings being held elsewhere more numerous than before this

\* *Vide* Sir H. Smith's dispatch, Parl. Papers.—The number is generally supposed to be greatly overrated.

† So delighted were the frontier colonists at Sir Peregrine Maitland's abrogation, or at least annulment, of these treaties, that, in 1844, Graham's Town was illuminated, and Sir A. Stockenström burnt in effigy in every direction.—Parl. Pap., Aug. 1851; p. 257. The change soon came, and this very man was, as we have seen, brought from his retirement to take the lead in repelling the foe who had been made such by the repeal of his judicious measures.

‡ Makanna had repeatedly and boldly affirmed, that though the English might attempt to detain him prisoner, or even to kill him, yet that he would most certainly return sooner or later to his country and kindred. Many of the Kafirs relied so confidently on this prediction, that they could never be induced to credit the account of his death, while others believed that, even if it were so, the grave itself would not long detain him from fulfilling his promise.—*Kay's Researches in Kaffraria*, pp. 45, 275.

§ Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 18.



interference, the governor desired Colonel Mackinnon to get possession of Umlanjeni, if possible, and to "give out quietly," that whosoever should secure him would be rewarded; in which case, he added, this "regenerated Mahomet" should "very speedily find himself in Robben Island."\* Colonel Mackinnon, however, did not deem it advisable to attempt any such measures, giving as his reasons that their success was very doubtful; that the alleged prophet had moreover committed no overt act which would justify the seizure of his person with a view to removing him from the country; for that at present no better evidence existed of his having excited the Kafirs to war than mere report; and, lastly, that the contemplated procedure would cause great irritation among his countrymen generally, who, though in a state of extreme destitution from excessive drought, nevertheless abstained wholly from marauding.†

In the month of October the governor proceeded to Graham's Town, and there found great agitation prevailing, the colonists "being panic-struck with the fear of a Kafir inroad, while the Kafirs on their side viewed the warlike preparations made by the former as evidence of the hostile intentions entertained against them." Sir H. Smith continued to assure H.M. ministers that they "need be under no apprehension of an outbreak;" but his reliance on physical force seems nevertheless to have been by this time somewhat shaken, for though he boasts of the excellent condition of the military defences, and asks "what are the Kafirs to effect, posted as we are in the midst of them?" he yet proposes, for the first time, what most indubitably ought to have been done long before, to conciliate the chiefs, by making them a yearly allowance as an indemnification for the loss of revenue occasioned by his having so greatly superseded their authority.‡

On the 26th, the governor called a meeting of the Kafir chiefs to discuss the state of affairs; Sandilli could not be prevailed on to attend. Trustworthy witnesses, both European and native, declared that fear alone prevented his obeying the summons, but that he was possessed with the idea that it was intended to seize him. Persuasion and threats were alike useless, and in fact

Sir H. Smith's declaration that if he did not obey his imperative summons, instead of a chief he should be an onteast, and that the whole of his property should be confiscated, only enforced upon the terrified Sandilli the conviction that his destruction was determined upon, and the opportunity of consummating it alone wanting. Besides, he persisted in declaring that he could not trust the promise of a safe conduct, having been entrapped under a similar pledge at the conclusion of the last war.§ (*Vide* p. 100.) The assembly was held without him, and Sir H. Smith then declared Sandilli deposed from the control of his tribe, which was henceforth to be presided over by a British commissioner (Mr. Brownlee.) Respecting this injudicious procedure, there appears to be but one opinion. As Sandilli afterwards declared, the queen of England had not made him a chief; she could make governors, but a higher power had made him chief of all the Gaikas.|| His tribe took the same view of the question, and warmly resented his nominal deposition, while his brother chiefs naturally felt his cause to be their own, since they might at any moment be subjected to similar treatment.

Umlanjeni was supposed to be inciting the whole nation to unite for the protection of Sandilli, and the recovery of their land. Many of the Kafir servants quitted the farmers, without even staying for their wages, and considerable numbers of the border colonists sought safety by quitting the frontier. Sandilli on his part was asserted to have complained that the whole of Kafirland was dotted over with the habitations of the white man, and the surveyors' flags, and to have sent messengers to the various clans, asking them to unite with him, declaring that he had resolved to die fighting in the ranks for the country of his forefathers.¶

On the 14th of December, Sir H. Smith moved forward to Fort Cox (called from its position the key of the Amatola Mountains), and the British forces, amounting, horse and foot included, to 1,900 men, with 400 of the Kafir police, took the field in three columns. The right wing, under Colonel Eyre, occupied the Kabousie Neck at the back of the Amatola range, with the view of preventing any combined movement between

\* Parl. Papers, March, 1851; p. 15. † *Idem*, p. 17.

‡ *Idem*, pp. 27-8. § *Idem*, 41.

|| He likewise declared, that "God had given the white man England, and He had given the coloured

man South Africa, Kafirland, and why did we English wish to undo what God had done?"—Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 437.

¶ Parl. Papers, March, 1851; pp. 42-3.

the Gaikas and Kreili. The centre, commanded by Colonel Mackinnon, held Fort Cox; and the left, under Colonel Somerset, was posted at Fort Hare. King William's Town was for several days confided to the care of Jan Tzatzoe and his tribe, supported by a few sappers.\*

On the 26th, a proclamation was issued offering a reward of £500 for the capture of the "outlaw" Sandilli, and £250 for that of his brother Anta. Either of these sums would have made a millionaire among the Kafirs, nevertheless the idolized "Prince Charlie" was not safer among his faithful Highlanders than Sandilli, in the midst of the poor and hungry people, whom it is the fashion to speak of as faithless and treacherous savages. A reward was likewise unavailingly offered of a cow to every man who should inform against a kraal in possession of guns; and every such kraal was to give up its fire-arms under penalty of outlawry and "eating up" (confiscation.) On the 19th, the governor held another meeting with the Gaika chiefs. The motive of it was good in so far as it was intended to assure the Kafirs that no hostilities were meant against them as a nation, but only against certain individuals, who had offended in rescuing a few cattle seized by the Kafir police. Another judicious measure adopted in the course of it, was the substitution of Sutu, the mother of Sandilli, as regent of the tribe, assisted by some of the principal councillors in lieu of the English commissioner; and what was still more likely to soothe the feelings of the chiefs, was the positive pledge given by the governor, that he would not send red coats to hunt Sandilli,† though he was ready to give the specified reward to any Kafir who might capture him. Hoping, however, to intimidate his audience, Sir H. Smith is described as having assumed a tone and bearing which totally defeated his really peaceable intentions. Thus, when the Kafirs urged that their chief had not been proved guilty of any act sufficient to justify his deposition, and pleaded in his favour, Sir Harry would not listen to them, but declared that if he "showed mercy to Sandilli the queen would chop off his head;" and he spoke of him and likewise of Macomo, who was present, in very offensive terms, stating that the latter might have been a great chief, but

was now a drunken beast, and had to be turned out of the colony."‡

The Kafirs left the meeting in a state of great excitement, declaring that they saw war was intended, and that the governor's assertion that the red coats were not to be sent after Sandilli, was a pretence, for otherwise, why were so many troops assembled?§ Several missionaries, especially the Rev. H. Renton, and the Rev. R. Niven, the exemplary minister stationed at the Chumie station, strove to calm the excitement by the strongest assurances of the confidence that might be placed on the governor's word; but the people nevertheless watched with jealous distrust the armed patrols which were kept moving about among the mountain gorges. After expressing himself so positively on the subject, it is quite inexplicable how Sir H. Smith could have thought himself justified in sending, only four days after, a body of 600 men, under Colonel Mackinnon, in the direction of the supposed concealment of Sandilli, with the avowed purpose of compelling him to surrender, or fly the country.||

This armed invasion of Sandilli's stronghold was an act which, in the estimation of those best acquainted with the Kafirs, could be looked on by them only in the light of a declaration of war. As such they met it, and succeeded in successfully surprising the troops while passing through a rocky gorge of the Keiskamma. The Kafir police (ninety in number), most of whom were Gaikas, and the Cape Mounted Rifles (about 170), were suffered to pass unmolested; but when the British appeared, a sharp fire of small arms was opened upon them at a few yards' distance. Twelve of our brave men were killed, eleven being left dead on the field; the officers of the 6th lost their horses, and two mules, laden with ammunition, were captured by the enemy, to whom the victory undoubtedly belonged, although the troops eventually forced the pass, and succeeded in bivouacking on the open ground beyond, in the vicinity of the Uniondale mission station. Immediately on hearing of the fatal collision which had taken place, a warning was issued from head-quarters, at Fort Cox, to the colonists generally, to be on the defensive, and martial law was proclaimed throughout the frontier districts. But Kafir messengers are more fleet of foot

\* *Narrative of the Kafir War of 1850-'1*, by Messrs. Godlonton and Irving; p. 48.

† *Parl. Papers*, August, 1851; p. 384.

‡ *Parl. Papers*, Aug. 1851; pp. 384-5. § *Idem*, p. 385.

|| *Ibid* Sir H. Smith's despatch to Earl Grey, dated December 26th, 1850.



than British emissaries, and can thread the rugged precipices, and dense jungle of their mountain fastnesses, safely and rapidly, even in dead of night; so the news spread with them far sooner than with us, that blood had been spilt, that the English had been completely defeated in an attempt to seize the person of their beloved chieftain, and that another desperate struggle for life and land had actually commenced. The missionaries stationed among the natives were placed in a fearful position,—even their own disciples bitterly reproached them for having, up to the last moment, misrepresented and disguised the intentions of the governor; yet in the midst of this excitement, Macomo and Sandilli successively sent messages to them, requesting them to remain, and promising protection to their persons and property; nor do any of them appear to have been placed in bodily fear, with the exception of Mr. Niven, who, accompanied by a discharged soldier, passed through armed bands of strange Kafirs, with his wife and young children; these last, however, proving his best safeguard.\*

On the 25th, Christmas-day, the military villages of Auckland, Woburn, and Juannasberg, were pillaged and burnt. At Auckland, twenty-eight men were massacred; at Woburn, sixteen (one only escaping by hiding in the bush); but at Juannasberg the people had happily fled in alarm, at seeing the smoke of the burning houses of Woburn, and three only remained to fall victims to the barbarian foe. The women and children (European and native) were everywhere suffered to escape personally uninjured.

Disaster followed thick upon disaster; about the same time an armed patrol of twelve men belonging to the 45th Regt. being sent out from Fort White, in search of three of their comrades who had been dispatched on escort duty, and were reported, only too truly, to have been massacred by the Kafirs,—were themselves suddenly surrounded and cut off to a man. On the 28th it was discovered that thirty-five of the Kafir police had plotted to desert; an attempt was made to disarm them, upon which they precipitately fled to the mountains. The same endeavour was made at

\* The Rev. Robert Niven has given a most interesting account of his flight from the Chumie station, with his family, and of the heroic exertions of a Kafir girl who accompanied them.—*Wide United Presbyterian Magazine*, November, 1851.

† The expense of this force under Sir Henry Pot-

the other posts, but with only partial success, and eventually 365 out of 400 deserted, 140 carrying with them their fire-arms and equipments.† It should be added that these men had repeatedly and openly said, "We are willing to follow spoor [track of cattle] and catch thieves, but we will never *fight* against our own people."‡ Flashed by success, the Kafirs invested Fort Cox, a compact well-built stone fort, forming a square, and situated on a hilly neck of land bounded on three sides by the Keiskamma. Colonel Somerset having been made aware of the critical position of the governor, by means of friendly Kafirs (who creeping silently by night through the wooded country, eluded the vigilance of the foe), vainly attempted to forward thither a few slaughter cattle, escorted by a troop of the Cape Mounted Rifles under his son, Major Somerset. This party having been driven back, Colonel Somerset himself headed a force for the same object, but after four hours' hard fighting, he also was repulsed with the loss of twenty-two killed and seventeen wounded.§ Most painful anxiety now prevailed respecting the governor, cooped up in his mountain fortress. Colonel Somerset sent to entreat him not to think of moving with a column of troops, or he would be lost, but to rush out attended only by the 150 Cape Mounted Rifles who were with him. This project was precisely suited to the daring spirit that for two weary weeks had chafed in such unwonted trammels, and on the morning of the 31st, Sir Harry, wearing the forage cap and uniform of a rifleman, accompanied by Colonel Mackinnon, dashed out of the fortress, and surrounded by the trusty Hottentots, galloped to King William's Town. The distance was twelve miles; the enemy kept up a desultory fire, but probably without suspecting how important a prize was escaping them; besides which, it was the evident determination of the Kafirs to fire upon the white men only, and, if possible, to spare and conciliate all the coloured ones, except their especial enemies, the Fingoes.

Again at the head of the forces, the governor forthwith issued a proclamation requesting the colonists to rise *en masse*,|| and aid tinger, who was chiefly instrumental in its formation amounted to £22,000 per annum. Sir H. Smith reduced it to one-half.

† *Narrative of Kafir War*, p. 50.

§ *Parl. Papers*, March, 1851; p. 113.

|| With the inducement of unrestrained pillage.

H.M. troops and the reinforcements that were daily expected, not only to expel the Gaikas for ever from the Amatolas, but also "to destroy and exterminate these most barbarous and treacherous savages."\* He further sent orders to the governor of Natal to forward a large body of Zoolus to attack the Gaikas in the rear. Happily this expedient, which, tried once before on a small scale, had been attended with much mischief, by causing wrong and robbery to be committed on friendly tribes,† was eventually judged impracticable and inexpedient, although at first the idea was entertained of sending no less than 5,000 men. Considerable levies, both European and native, were hastily raised by the exertions of the able colonial-secretary, Mr. Montagu; but these new soldiers made but poor compensation for the defection of some of the old and tried defenders of the colony. This brings us to one of the saddest features of the war, viz., the revolt and breaking up of the Kat River settlement. Into the whole circumstances of this business, as also into the desertion of a portion of the Cape corps, which had evident connexion with it, searching and impartial inquiry is imperative. So far as we know at present, the leading facts of the case are these:—Hermanus, a Kafir spy, having on various occasions betrayed or pretended to betray the counsels of Macomo and other chiefs, had thereby so seriously incurred their displeasure, that it was thought necessary to provide for his safety and maintenance within the colony. A tract of land was very injudiciously allotted him in the Kat River settlement, the autho-

rities apparently overlooking the maxim that a treacherous subject to one master rarely proves faithful to another. The offence given to Hermanus was, Sir H. Smith's asking from him, in 1849, a quit-rent of £1 per head for each of his people, numbering 150, and this demand was persisted in, although it was urged that the land had been originally a free gift, and that the people were literally too poor to pay the required sum. Hermanus, who appears to have been a crafty, clever schemer, and certainly a very dangerous character to have been placed among the Hottentots, availed himself of the grievances under which they were then suffering,‡ to ingratiate himself with them and induce them to lay aside the distrust with which they had heretofore regarded him. Misled by his representations, and over-awed by his threats, 200 of the Kat River Hottentots avowedly joined him, in spite of the earnest entreaties of their ministers, the two Mr. Reads, who risked their lives by staying in the settlement, and made every exertion to uphold a loyal feeling.

On the 7th of January, 1851, the rebel leader, at the head of his own Kafir clan, and supported by some Hottentots, attacked Fort Beaufort. The assailants were driven back and fled, leaving behind them the dead body of Hermanus, whose place was forthwith supplied by his son. It was hoped that this signal defeat would have stayed the rebellion in the Kat River, and so perhaps it might have done, but for the coercion adopted to compel the Hottentots in general to serve as levies,§ while no

\* After such a declaration as this, it seems very inconsistent to find Sir H. Smith expressing great surprise at "that most diabolical feeling which obtains among the combined rebels, that the period has arrived when the 'black' is to slay the 'white' to extermination."—Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 8.

† Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 52.

‡ According to the Rev. J. J. Freeman, Sir A. Stockenstrom and others, these people had been the victims of extreme injustice, of which the following is an instance. A number of Kafirs of bad character had squatted on lands included in the settlement, and the Hottentots applied to the local authorities to have them removed. The intruders had interspersed themselves among some thirty families of Gona Hottentots, who had dwelt there since the formation of the settlement, paid their taxes regularly, done patrol duty, fought with the British in two Kafir wars, and rendered themselves especially conspicuous in the latter, under their brave Field-cornets Groepe and Andries Botha, in the attack on the Amatola. Shortly before this, extreme dissatisfaction had been roused by the decisions of the local magistrate (Mr. Bowker), and evidently with reason, since his judg-

ments had been reversed, and the heavy fines inflicted by him ordered to be refunded. They were, however, still unreturned, when, by an act which Mr. Freeman observes "looks like revenge," these very men, to whom the repayment was to be made, with all their friends and connexions, their wives and new-born children, were driven out of their homes, in intensely cold weather, by a body of Kafir police, who tauntingly boasted to Botha and others, "you burnt us out of the Amatola, we come now to burn you out in turn."—(Freeman. p. 186.) This disgraceful scene lasted several days. It is asserted to have continued during the whole of one Sunday, in June, 1850, under the special superintendence of Mr. Bowker himself. The whole affair was laid before government; Mr. Bowker was declared in the wrong, and suffered to resign, and the poor sufferers were allowed to return to their desolated homes, but no compensation of any kind was made to them for the injury thus wantonly inflicted. For fuller details, see Parl. Papers, August, 1851; pp. 32—36, 265—267, 417 to 436; and the eighth chapter of Freeman's *South Africa*.

§ According to the local journals, recourse was had to the press-gang, and this at a time when the pro-



such measures were adopted towards the European population, who could neither be induced or driven into bearing their share as volunteers.

The disaffection was considered to be so decidedly on the increase, that on the 27th of January, General Somerset thought it necessary to break up the whole of the twelve or thirteen hamlets comprised under the name of the Kat River settlement. This step is by some alleged to have been justified by the critical state of affairs, while by others it has been censured as decidedly premature, and especially as involving many innocent persons in the punishment due to a comparatively few guilty ones. Certain it is that some of the very people thus suddenly disarmed and deprived of house and home, have since had their weapons returned to them by General Somerset himself, and are now using them in the defence of the colony.\*

The storming of Fort Armstrong, in which, after its abandonment by the British on breaking up the Kat River settlement, about 200 Hottentots and Kafirs had taken refuge, and the blowing up of the tower, together with some thirty miserable wretches who refused to surrender, created a great sensation among the coloured classes throughout the colony; and the relation of the painful circumstances connected with it are said to have been the immediate cause of the desertion of a body of the oldest and most valued members of the Cape corps, many of whom were nearly related to the sufferers.† Soon after this the Hottentots of the Moravian missionary station of Shiloh first refused to give up two Kat River fugitives, who had taken refuge among them; and then, by the violent proceedings of a local commandant, were driven into rebellion.‡

Thus commenced that war which Sir H. Smith, immediately before its outbreak, had declared next to impossible. "There will never be another Kafir war. Should there be, it will be the last—ten days will do it, portion of Hottentots serving, over that furnished by any other class, was enormous.—*Cape of Good Hope Observer*, 18th January, 1851, and *Cape Town Mail*, 25th January, 1851.

\* Parl. Papers, June, 1851; p. 32.

† Forty-eight men of the Cape Mounted Rifles, that very corps who had been so long distinguished for their bravery and fidelity, and who had recently manifested these qualities so remarkably at the critical period of the Governor's escape from Fort Cox, went off towards Fort Hare, with the avowed determination of attempting the rescue of a large number of Hot-

when we are once fairly at work."§ Nearly twice as many months have elapsed, an enormous daily expense has been incurred, and more British life has been lost than on any former occasion; Sir H. Smith has been superseded by General Cathcart, and yet Sandilli is still at the head of the Gaikas, Macomo and his sons still occupy the Amatolas, Umlanjani still prophesies destruction to England, and the war seems as far from any satisfactory conclusion as ever. Belief in the loyalty of the main body of the Hottentots seems being gradually restored; but the ranks of the enemy are swollen by portions, at least, of various tribes,|| whose real or alleged grievances demand most careful investigation from the government which has voluntarily assumed sway over them.

CONCLUSION.—The subsequent details of the contest yet raging in Kaffraria are of too recent a date, and too unsettled in their final issue, to afford suitable matter for history. That issue must be prosperous or adverse, so far as policy and practice be or be not accordant with justice and mercy. In the painful narrative of the past there is a lesson and a warning which statesmen would do well to consider. Retribution, in this present life, overtakes nations more surely, or at least more manifestly than individuals; all history proves this, and that of Southern Africa affords no exception to the rule. Having never strenuously endeavoured to prevent its subjects oppressing and plundering the Hottentots and Bushmen, Holland lost its valuable possessions at the Cape. England is not yet in the same position, but a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, and a disorganized and dissatisfied colonial community on the one hand; and on the other, complicated and daily increasing difficulties in her relations with the aborigines, are part of the penalties paid for long-continued injustice to the Kafirs. To suppose that a merciful and all-seeing Ruler will not punish those who employ their superior knowledge and (so called) civilization to tentot prisoners, belonging to the Kat River settlement, who were to be tried by court martial for rebellion, and whose doom they, not without reason, looked upon as sealed.

‡ Parl. Papers, August, 1851; p. 447.

§ *Kafir War of 1850-1*, p. 24.

|| The Tambookies, into our relations with whom careful and impartial inquiry ought to be made, as also into the complaints of Moshesh, and the other native chiefs, whose territory is included in the Orange River sovereignty.—[See Remonstrances of Sir A. Stockenström, Parl. Papers, March and Aug., 1851.]

seize on lands not their own, burn crops, destroy cattle, and massacre helpless as well as resisting human beings, would be to deny the attributes of justice and power to the Deity. As a nation sows, it must reap, and a perseverance in the past policy towards the Kafirs can bring neither blessing nor honour to England.

With regard to the settlers, it would be most unjust to cast indiscriminate blame on all the Dutch and British colonists; many of both races have for years been the advocates of a wise, honest, and gentle treatment of the coloured races, while others, alas! have viewed them as little better than wolves, or as suited only to be slaves to the white man. In the voluminous documents\* examined for the history of South Africa, many remarkable instances of heroism, of manly spirit, fidelity, truthfulness, hospitality, and clemency towards a foe, are recorded on the part of the aborigines. That the reverse of the picture could be exhibited is undeniable; but surely this cannot excite surprise in any mind acquainted with the barbaric state of Europe before the Christian era. In what did the Britons, at the time of Julius Cæsar, differ from the Kafirs? yet, because our ancestors refused to yield their lands and cattle to the legions of Augustus, there went forth no imperial decree of "extermination," Pagan Rome, in this case, being more just and merciful than Christian England.

But putting aside higher considerations, and examining the question simply as one of mere worldly loss or gain, would it not be better policy for a commercial nation like England to preserve than to destroy her aboriginal neighbours? Every Kafir slain might have been made a consumer of British manufactures; a tithe of the sum spent in one of the Kafir wars, devoted to the extension of Christian civilization, might have converted our fierce foes by the same process so successfully adopted with respect to the New Zealanders,† into peaceful, happy, and prosperous subjects of the British Crown, who, as such, would have formed an invulnerable barrier against the tribes on our northern and eastern frontier. Every motive that can influence individuals or com-

munities, concurs in suggesting that, on the lowest as well as on the highest grounds, it is even now our duty and our interest to preserve and conciliate the Kafirs. Brute force may destroy, but can never civilize barbarians; some (a few) races may be degraded into slaves, and kept so for a time; but others, of nobler nature, prefer death to bondage, or even to ignominious expulsion from the land of their birth. Among this latter class are the Kafirs, who have evinced a repugnance to injustice, a love of freedom, and an indomitable courage, that ought to have procured for them the respect and friendship of the British nation. The gallant troops engaged in these unjust wars have borne high testimony to the martial bearing, patience, and fortitude of the Kafirs. Their intellectual powers are certainly of no ordinary character. One youth, named Teyo, now pursuing theological and general studies at the high school of Glasgow, is striving to win the prize among many hundred thoroughly well-grounded Scottish fellow-students; and his gentlemanly manners and amiable character have procured him general and cordial esteem. And yet there is no reason to suppose him other than an average specimen of his race, but softened and elevated by the genial, humanizing influence of Christian knowledge. Many testimonies might be cited in favour of the much calumniated Kafirs; from these the following are selected, not as the most favourable to them, but as given by perfectly unprejudiced persons in various positions. The ministers of religion, who have lived with and known them intimately, speak in yet higher terms of the good qualities which struggle into light in the breast of a Kafir, even amid the dense mist of heathenism. One gentleman, whose labours have made the zoology of South Africa familiar and delightful to the British public, and who, in the course of those labours, dwelt for fifteen years with or contiguous to the Kafirs, traversed their country, and examined all the Dutch and English records at the different residences in South Africa, personally interrogated the chiefs and people, and sought truth by every justifiable means, thus speaks of this people in his

\* The Parliamentary Papers printed on South Africa alone amount to 4,770 folio, or about 10,000 octavo pages: the number of volumes in my library on South Africa number upwards of 100 (of which 15 are quarto size), comprising more than 5,000 octavo pages: the quantity of other matter, printed and manuscript, which it has been necessary to exa-

mine, is equivalent to 3,000 pages. This mass of 18,000 pages required careful perusal, and was for the most part noted page by page, in the desire to elicit truth, and present the leading features of the history of this valuable colony to the public in a succinct form.

† See Vol. II. of this work.



valuable evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, in 1851:—

“The Kafirs are an independent and daring people, but I rarely found them difficult to manage when I endeavoured to persuade them by just arguments. They are very quick, and soon see when they have the advantage of you; still I seldom found them unreasonable, and would rather rely upon moral than upon physical force.”\*

Sir A. Stockenstrom, whose father was killed by the Kafirs (see p. 52), says, “they are certainly not a nation of thieves—there are plunderers amongst them, but I believe there are civilized nations in which the proportion of thieves is greater: they are an agricultural people, and they have also extensive flocks.”†

W. Gisborne, Esq., who travelled much among the Kafirs, says, “we frequently experienced kind treatment from them; when we arrived at their kraals, they often immediately killed a bullock, and made a feast for us.” “Hospitality is a general rule among them, an unfriendly disposition was an exception.”‡

Thomas Philipps, Esq., a Cape magistrate, referred to the *very regular tribunals* for adjudicating equitably upon matters in dispute between an Englishman and a Kafir, as also upon differences among themselves.§

Saxe Bannister, Esq., formerly attorney-general of New South Wales, a lawyer of repute, who visited Kafirland, and examined the people, declares, “I think their state of society approaches much more to the barbarian than the savage; I have no doubt they have fixed laws upon many points; they are perfectly competent to discern between justice and injustice; I think they have among them various systems of rewards and punishments—they have the elements of a civil community.”||

Captain C. Bradford of the E. I. Company's service, who visited Kafirland twice, and resided some time there, says, “the absurdity of charging the whole of the Kafirs as thieves, is most apparent, when at the same time we find both traders and farmers going to reside among them, because they cannot obtain, as they state, the protection of the government against them.”¶

Lieutenant-colonel Cox, who resided many years on the frontier, and was repeatedly engaged in carrying on hostilities against them, when asked by a parliamentary committee, “Have you formed any opinion in particular as to the manner in which the blessings of Christianity may be communicated to them?” answered, — “The Kafirs are a very jealous and cunning people, but if they are kindly treated by those they have confidence in, they are very correct in their feelings; I think they are a people possessing gratitude, and the better feelings of our nature.”\*\*

The Rev. H. Renton, A.M., observes “the Gaika Kafirs are a grave, subtle, and discriminating race;” they are “a people over whom you could exercise a moral influence, if you preserved in their minds the belief that you were acting toward them with justice and good faith;” “there are numerous testimonies regarding chiefs, that, if they had once pledged their word, you might rely on it;—several persons have told me that they never knew Sandilli to break his

word, and the conclusion to which I decidedly come is, that if you could impress them with the belief of our perfect sincerity, and determination to abide by a compact to which they were intelligent consenting parties, not constrained, you might rely upon them.”††

My own personal knowledge of the Kafirs is very limited, but the little that I saw of them, inspired me with a very favourable impression of their capabilities of becoming a moral and enlightened people. Some services rendered by venesection and by relieving physical suffering in other ways, were acknowledged most gratefully, and the kindness of my brother officers‡‡ in contributing to their necessities, was repaid with childlike affection.

Oppression, cruelty, and the demoniac passions which war elicits and perpetuates, have wrought their fell work on the Kafirs, and compelled them to resort to the instruments of the weak—to cruelty and dissimulation; but, ere we condemn the recourse to any means of opposing the powerful invaders of their country, let us inquire what would be our own conduct, if an overwhelming French, Russian, or other foreign army should seize and hold possession of the strongholds of Britain,—would any measures be left untried for their utter extirpation? Why should we prescribe one law for ourselves, and another for the Kafirs? Why utter the inhuman cry of “extermination” against several hundred thousand of our fellow-creatures, because they defend themselves to the uttermost against the seizure of their territory and the destruction of their social system? But He who made all men in his own image, will not permit such a triumph to wickedness; the Kafirs are too numerous to be swept away like a handful of Algerine Arabs; they are too firmly united in a common cause, to become an easy prey even to the misdirected efforts of British valour and military strategy.

The Gaika tribe, with whom we are more especially at war, are at present our chief difficulty; the number of men they can bring into the field is roughly estimated at 20,000, but their ranks have been largely swollen by the discontented members of other Kafir tribes, comprising about 40,000 fighting men. It is fearful, therefore, to contemplate the wholesale destruction of life and property that may ensue if the present

\* Dr. Andrew Smith, the present head of the army medical board in London.—Parl. Papers, 1851; p. 295.

† Parl. Papers, August, 1836; questions 1045—7.

‡ *Idem*, questions 3361—3391-2.

§ *Idem*, questions 403-4. || *Idem*, questions 1523-4.

¶ *Idem*, question 1431. \*\* *Idem*, p. 354.

†† Parl. Papers, 1851; pp. 389-90.

‡‡ Engaged in the survey and exploration of Eastern Africa, under Captain (now Admiral) W. F. Owen.

conflict go on involving the inhabitants of a wider circle, until at length the whole of the coloured people, scattered between the colony and the equator, estimated at two-and-a-half to three millions, be drawn into the vortex. This is no mere surmise; indications only too marked, and unmistakeable, show that there is imminent danger lest the present contest should eventually lead, not simply to a war of extermination between the colonists and a certain family of Kafirs, but between the white man and the black. In such a case it is easy to foretell the result of a struggle in which the various Bechuana tribes, the Tambookies, and others whom we commonly include under the name of Kafirs, the people we call Zoolus, and even the Hottentots, should be arrayed against us.

It has been boastfully alleged that if the white colonists were left to themselves, they are in sufficient numbers, and possessed of adequate power, to extirpate the Kafirs, and subdue the whole coloured population. The fallacy of this assertion is self-evident. The number of whites capable of bearing arms in each division of the colony is thus shown by a recent return:—Cape division, 550; Stellenbosch, 700; Worcester, 400; Clan William, 300; Swellendam and Caledon, 1,000; George, 600; Beaufort, 350; Uitenhage, 300; Albany, 500; Somerset, 300; Cradock and Albert, 500; Graaf Reynet, 500; Colshurg, 500. Total, exclusive of the whites in Cape Town, Graham's Town, and Port Elizabeth, 6,500. A levy *en masse* would furnish six to seven thousand men, leaving none but aged men, women, and children for the protection of the scattered farms and towns throughout the whole colony. Thirty thousand Kafirs, well armed and led, might devastate the entire colony, from the Great Fish River to the walls of Cape Castle, at Table Bay. To avert so awful a calamity, no time should be lost in establishing, not a hollow truce maintained only by stringent coercion, but a lasting peace, consolidated by equitable measures. Before rejecting this doctrine as enthusiastic or utopian, and falling back upon the idea that the strength of our own arm shall be sufficient to us in this crisis, let us remember, galling as it may be to do so, that we have before been misled by a similar error. During the unjust invasion of Afghanistan, in 1839, it is acknowledged that the wisdom of the invaders was turned into folly, and all precautions and warnings were

no avail; prosperous conquests lured our army to Cabul, and then the sword and the snow became the fearful instruments of a retribution, which ceased not until about 10,000 British troops and their followers were annihilated. In the Kafir war of 1846, signal misfortunes befel us at every turn, so much so that at one period the governor (Sir Peregrine Maitland) is alleged to have declared that Providence itself seemed to oppose us. With far stronger reason might many of the incidents of the present conflict, especially the loss of the *Birkenhead*, a ship filled with troops, apparently by the merest casualty, be adduced in support of a similar conviction. May these premonitions have some effect on our South African policy, and induce the speedy adoption of those Christian principles by which alone tranquillity can be restored, and an amicable and useful intercourse established with the numerous aboriginal tribes bordering our colonial frontier.

If any one should inquire what these principles are, let them examine the policy inculcated by Lord Glenelg, in 1836; or, turning to a somewhat earlier date, peruse the simple and publicly avowed sentiments of our faithful ally, the Bushman-born Griqua chief, Andries Waterboer, (see p. 62), and who, at a meeting held in Cape Town, in 1835, thus stated the rules which he laid down for his own guidance:—

"I feel that I am bound to govern my people by Christian principles. The world knows by experience, and I know in my small way, and I know also from my Bible, that the government which is not founded on the principles of the Bible, must come to nothing. *When governments lose sight of the principles of the Bible, partiality, injustice, oppression, and cruelty, prevail; and then suspicion, want of confidence, jealousy, hatred, revolt, and destruction, succeed.* Therefore I hope it will ever be my study that the Bible should form the foundation of every principle of my government; then I, and my people, will have a standard to which we can appeal, which is clear, comprehensive, and satisfactory; and by which we shall all be tried, and have our condition determined, in the day of judgment. \* \* \* Would governors and governments act upon the simple principle by which we are bound to act as individuals, that is, to do as we would be done by, all would be well. I hope by the principles of the gospel, the morals of my people will continue to improve, and it shall be my endeavour, in humble dependence on the Divine blessing, that those principles shall lose none of their force by my example. Sound education I know will civilize them, make them wise, useful, powerful, and secure among their neighbours; and the better they are educated, the more clearly will they see that the principles of the Bible are the best principles for the government of individuals, of families, of tribes, and of nations."\*

\* Parl. Papers, August, 1836; pp. 626-7.



## CHAPTER II.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA—BOUNDARIES OF CAPE COLONY—COAST LINE, MOUNTAINS, AND RIVERS—DIVISIONS AND TOWNS—KAFIRLAND—ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY—GEOLOGY AND CLIMATE—ZOOLOGY AND VEGETATION.

It is difficult to convey a clear idea of the general features of a territory forming a portion of a large continent, whose physical characteristics are very imperfectly known. The great Architect of the universe has made the fitness of each several part necessary to the perfection of all; land and water, mountain and plain, river and lake, were not placed promiscuously on the crust of this globe, but in conformity to those fixed laws alone capable of producing uniform and harmonious results. Ignorance of the geography of central Africa unfortunately precludes the possibility of framing a connected view of the relations between the southern and equatorial regions.

**LEADING FEATURES OF SOUTH AFRICA NORTHWARD OF THE CAPE COLONY.**—The eastern coast of the African peninsula appears to be more elevated than the western, but it is still doubtful whether either shore is marked by a continuous coast-chain of mountains. Several geographers suppose that irregular and isolated ranges extend from the equator to the southward; that some of these, for short distances, run parallel with the sea-shore, varying in proximity; and that others extend inland, forming or supporting table-lands stretching east and west across the interior. A different opinion is entertained by Mr. Hall, of the Engineer Department, who has recently paid great attention to African geography, and considers it as nearly certain that the chain of mountains in the south, forming the Roggeveld, Nieuweveld, Sneeuwberg, Stormberg, and Quathlamba ranges, runs northward, parallel to the east coast, as far as 20° N. lat., and eventually joins the towering Abyssinian heights. Be this as it may, we know that a lofty mountainous region exists on the eastern side of Africa, near the equinoctial line; one of whose pinnacles (Kilimanjaro) in about 1° S. lat., supposed (by Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann,) to be perpetually covered with snow, is apparently connected with more westerly ranges. Southward and westward of this elevated equatorial region, there would seem to be successive plateaux, with occasional depressions or marshy tracts, which in the wet season become lakes, in whose basins some rivers terminate, and others commence their courses. One lake (Ngami), 2,825 feet above the level of the sea, in 20° 20' S. lat., 23° 30' E. long., is of an oblong form, 80 miles long, by 20 miles broad; its banks are ornamented with large trees and luxuriant tropical vegetation. It abounds in pelicans and fish (of which one description, resembling the carp, weighs from 40 to 50 lbs.), and is supposed to be the reservoir of a much

larger lake about 200 miles to the northward, which contains numerous islands.

The *Teoge*, a rapid stream, falls into the north-west angle of the Ngami. The *Zouga*, which flows from the lake, has a course east and south-east for 300 miles, until it is lost in the sands. North and north-west of Lake Ngami, the country abounds with salt-pans; one of these (*Ntwétché*) is 100 miles long, by 15 miles broad. Many are covered with an incrustation of salt two inches thick. Beyond the salt-pans the land is perfectly level and hard, clothed with *mapané* and the gigantic *baobab* trees; the soil being characterized by an underlying rock of white tufa, in which numerous springs of good water are found. This region is inhabited by "fine, tall, strapping Bushmen, nearly as black as the Kafirs, who hunt and kill the elephant by day and on moonlight nights."—(Dr. Livingston's and Mr. Oswell's notes in *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, for 1852.)

In about 18° 20' S. lat., 26° E. long., a country has been discovered, which appears to be well peopled by a race called the Makololo, ruled by the daughter of Sebitoané, a great chief recently deceased: it includes much rich well-watered land, yielding the sugar-cane, fruit, potatoes, and the usual African grains. For hundreds of miles there is nearly a dead level intersected by numerous deep rivers with adjacent reedy swamps stretching in every direction. The dominion of Sebitoané is stated by Mr. Oswell to have been very extensive, reaching over a circle of 800 to 1,000 miles, and comprising the territories of eighty-two tribes, from each of whom he received tribute. The rivers rise annually; when at their height the natives traverse the country in every direction in their canoes, and even visit their gardens in them. Many large and beautiful trees adorn the landscape; among them are the date, palmyra, and splendid evergreens bearing an edible fruit. Elephants are very common (900 were killed near the Zouga in three months), and there are numerous herds of oxen, which, together with other domestic animals (excepting the goat), suffer greatly, and sometimes even perish in considerable quantities, by the bite of a fly called the *tsetse*. The Sichuana language pervades this large portion of central Africa, and the Bible is now being translated into that tongue.

The *Seshéke* River, found by the Rev. Dr. Livingston and Mr. Oswell in 17° 28' S. lat., is from 300 to 500 yards wide, with a great volume of water. The natives represent it as coming from an extensive water region termed *Lobale*, distant 400 miles to the north-north-west. On the east coast of Africa several rivers have been of late partially explored, but much yet remains to be done. In the neighbourhood of *Kilwa* one of these reaches the shore after traversing a distance of 500 miles. Further north are the *Pungani*, *Ori*, *Dana*, *Jubah*, *Webbe* or

*Haines*, and other considerable streams. One larger river, the *Limpopo*, is formed by the junction, in about 28° S. lat., of the *Notuani* on the west, the *Meriqua* in the middle, and the *Ori* or *Oli*, on the east. The termination of this fine stream is still unknown; Mr. Hall surmises it to be at Inhamban, on the east coast; Mr. Arrowsmith, at Delagoa Bay.

COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY THE EMIGRANT BOORS.—

The territory in which the emigrant boors have settled, and formed the towns of *Potchefstroom*, *Megalesberg*, *Leydensberg*, and *Origstadt*, is called by them the *Emegrente Grensgebied*; it lies between 20° and 28° S. lat., and is for the most part a tableland not unlike that of Central Mexico, favoured with a dry and cool atmosphere and periodical rains. The plateau has for its base the Drakenberg range of mountains, which passes from south-west to north-east, the *Winterberg*, an elevation of 7,000 feet, being one of its peaks. To the northward of Natal the chain diminishes in height, and is joined by mountains lying east and west, which, between *Potchefstroom*, on the *Mooi River*, 20 miles north of the Orange River sovereignty boundary, and *Megalesberg*, on the opposite side of the water-shed that extends east and west, rise in some places to an altitude of 5,000 feet. The country in the vicinity of Lake *Nyami*, is 3,000 feet above the sea, and between the lake and Megalesberg, by the sources of the *Notuani*, in 24° 30', and the *Meriqua*, must be still higher. The slope in the valleys of the *Zouga* and *Limpopo Rivers* is very gradual, and the mountains along the right bank of the former stream attain a considerable elevation. The configuration of the region resembles that of the mountainous country to the north and east of Graham's Town, with deep ravines, abrupt precipices, and an interval of good arable and pasture land, with wide barren patches.\* Taken as a whole, it is well watered, and abounds with many descriptions of game. Indeed, the further Eastern and Central Africa are explored, the more interesting are the discoveries made there. I visited the outlets of most of the rivers on the coast between Magadoxo, north of the equator, and Delagoa Bay, and found that after the mangrove swamps and marshes at the mouths of the streams were passed, the banks rose in height, tall trees and grassy plains appeared, and a fine pastoral country with a comparatively cool climate, lay beyond, thinly inhabited by various native races. Valuable gold mines probably exist in the vicinity of Sofala; gold-dust was in several places brought to me for barter, and the emigrant boors now located near the *Limpopo* may, ere long, discover the locality of rich auriferous deposits.

THE NAMAQUA AND DAMARA COUNTRY.—Namaqualand, north of the mouth of the Orange River, is a rugged table-land, with numerous ravines and isolated mountains. The Damara country, further north, appears to be of somewhat similar configuration, and is bordered by a desert tract, thirty to forty miles wide, on the sea coast; more inland a marked character is imparted by the "broadly developed end of that chain of hills and highland which runs parallel and near to the western coast, from the Cape colony, and separates the Fish River from the sea.†

\* See *Daily News*, London, October, 1850, for some interesting sketches of South Africa.

† Mr. Galton, an adventurous gentleman of private fortune, made an interesting excursion through the Damara country, in 1849, and added considerably

Groups of hills, deeply scored on their western face by water-courses, diversify the plain. The greatest elevation, *Omatako*, is 6,000 feet above the sea level; from thence the land slopes steadily away on all sides, declining very gently eastwards to the cup-shaped basin, with its lake and anastomosing rivers, which occupies the centre of the African peninsula.

In 19° 20' S. lat., Mr. Galton found a more open plain, with palm trees; further north he came to a luxuriant district, well watered from a long limestone ridge. Extensive grassy savannahs were interspersed with clumps of large trees, "presenting exactly the appearance of the work of an ornamental gardener;" this was succeeded by a perfectly flat, elevated, grassy, but treeless region. From thence a day's journey brought him to the charming country of Ondonga, which lay stretched like a sea before him; the beautifully grouped groves of palms, the dense, magnificent park-like trees, the broad level fields of corn, interspersed with pasturage and the orderly villages on every side, giving an appearance of diffused opulence and content to which it would be difficult to find a parallel. This African paradise is very salubrious; the people, called *Orampos*, are orderly, centralized, hard-working, neat, and scrupulously honest. The land is plotted out in small well-farmed holdings of corn and pasturage, each occupied by a family, generally comprising the grandfather, son, and children; every one has the appearance of enjoying comfort; the king (*Nangoro*) rules with patriarchal but despotic sway; his residence is in 17° 58' S. lat.

*Walvisch Bay*, near the tropic of Capricorn, is the chief port on this part of the coast: the harbour is excellent, but the country in the immediate neighbourhood barren. Two English establishments carry on a barter trade with the Damaras and Namaquas, for cattle, hides, gums, feathers, &c.; and several missionary stations have been formed in the neighbourhood.

This brief outline (derived from the statements of the latest authorities) respecting the country between the present boundaries of the colony and the equator, is given to remove a prevalent impression of the desert character of Southern Africa, which is calculated unjustly to depreciate the commercial value of the Cape of Good Hope.

BOUNDARIES AND AREA OF THE CAPE COLONY.—On the north the Orange or Gariep and Nu Gariep rivers, on the west the Atlantic, and on the south the Great Southern Ocean. The eastern limits have been set forth in successive proclamations, respectively dated 1700, 1739, 1770, 1798, 1819, and 1847. Each time new territory has been annexed, and fordable streams and imaginary lines have, from the nature of the country, formed the necessarily ill-defined line of separation between land-coveting settlers and cattle-coveting Kafirs. By Sir H. Smith's proclamation of 7th December, 1847,‡ the boundaries are stated to

to the scanty knowledge hitherto possessed of this part of Africa.—See *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, November, 1852.

‡ By a subsequent proclamation, an additional piece of territory, east of the Wittebergen, has been



be the Keiskamma River, from its mouth to its confluence with the Chumie, thence up the western bank to the northernmost source of the latter river; thence along the Katberg range to Gaika's Kop; thence to the nearest source of the Klip Plaats River, and down the left bank to its junction with the Zwart Kei; along the Zwart (black) Kei to its union with the Indivc River, along the said stream to its source; across the Stormberg to the head of the Kraai River, and thence along the Nu Gariep and Orange Rivers.\* Adopting these limits, the extreme breadth of the colony, north and south along the meridian of  $21^{\circ}$ , is 450 miles; and the length, east and west along the parallel of  $33^{\circ}$ , 600 miles. This quadrilateral figure or irregular parallelogram, contains a superficies of about 250,000 square miles.

THE COAST LINE extends from the *Orange* or *Gariep River*, on the west coast, in a southerly direction, to the Cape of Good Hope, a distance of upwards of 400 miles; with the exception of a projection at Cape L'Agulhas, the coast then trends in an easterly course to the *Keiskamma River*, a distance of more than 500 miles. Allowing for indentations and bays, the seaboard of the colony may be roughly estimated at 1,000 miles, forming two sides of an irregular square, the western bounded by the Atlantic, the southern by the South Pacific Ocean. The most remarkable features on the western coast are *St. Helena*, *Saldanha* (which but for a deficiency of fresh water would be the best harbour in the colony), and *Table Bays*; then the towering mass of Table Mountain, the bold rugged promontory termed the Cape of Good Hope, and the still more southerly but low projection called Cape L'Agulhas. Along the southern shore there are the anchorages of *False*, (including *Simon's Bay*); of *St. Sebastian*, the *Knysna*, *Mossel*, *Plettenberg*, *Camtoos* or *St. Francis*, *Algoa*, *Kowie Mouth*, and *Buffalo River*. An extensive bank, termed L'Agulhas, stretches for about 300 miles to the south of the Cape, diminishing in breadth to the westward and southward, with soundings of sixty to eighty fathoms. Along this bank the warmer stream of the Indian Ocean rushes through the Mozambique Channel, and from the coast of Madagascar, to meet the colder waters of the

Atlantic at the Cape of Good Hope. Near the edge of the bank, very heavy seas are generally found, and many local currents, especially close in shore, running in a contrary direction, or at right angles, to the grand current from east to west.

MOUNTAINS.—The various ranges of South Africa may be considered as forming the supporting walls of a series of steppes or plateaux, extending from the coast to the summit of the highest range, whence the country gradually slopes towards the valley of the Orange River.

Towards the south and east these plateaux are well defined; to the north-west they gradually become less clearly marked, and are finally lost in the confused granite hills of the Kamies Bergen (lion mountains), near the embouchure of the Orange River.

The first range lies at a distance of between eight and thirty miles from the coast. Travelling from the north-west round the colony towards the east, this chain forms the ranges of Lange Bergen, Cardouw Bergen, Drachenstein mountains, Hottentots Holland mountains, Zondereinde mountains, Lange Kloof and Outeniqua mountains, and terminates on the sea shore in the promontory of Cape St. Francis. More or less connected with this chain are the mountains of the Cape Peninsula and those near Saldanha Bay, the Picquet Berg, the Paarl Berg, Potte Berg, and many other isolated hills running parallel to the coast.

The forms of this first range are highly picturesque, and some points attain considerable elevation, the loftiest being the Winterhoek Mountain over Tulbagh, which forms a link between this chain and the second one; its altitude is upwards of 6,000 feet. The average height may be taken at 3,000 feet.

The country along the south and east coast, between the sea and the mountain range, is a highly fertile tract, much better watered than any other part of the colony. Along the west coast the country is very barren and sandy; it includes the district of the Hardveld in Clanwilliam, Zwartland, Picquet Berg, Outeniqua land, the Zitsikamma forests, &c. The second chain runs parallel to the first, enclosing with it a tract of country about 1,000 feet higher than the coast. This range consists of the Karroo

included, of about 400 square miles, to the great dissatisfaction of the aboriginal proprietors.

\* It is now proposed to make the Kei River the eastern colonial boundary, which would make a coast line

extension, since our conquest from the Dutch, from the Sunday to the Kei River, a distance of about 170 miles. There has also been, since 1806, various annexations of territory on the northern frontier.

Berg, Maskamma, Cedar mountains, Olifants River range, Hex River and Cold Bokkeveld mountains, Great Zwartbergen Winterhoek mountains, and Zuurbergen, and terminates near the mouth of the Great Fish River, in the buttress of the plateau on which Graham's Town is situated. The chief summit in this range is the Grenadier's Cap or Winterhoek Mountain, in Uitenhage, which attains a height of about 6,500 feet; the average altitude may be considered as 4,500 feet. The valleys between it and the coast range, travelling in the same direction as before stated, are known by the names of the Little Bokkeveld Karroo, Olifant's River Valley, Cold and Warm Bokkeveld, Breede River Valley, Kanna Land, Lange Kloof, Bavian's Kloof, &c.; they include a good deal of Karroo soil, but likewise a considerable portion of very excellent grazing country.

With this range we may class the secondary chains of the Warm Water Berg in Swellendam, the Kammanassie and Bavian's Kloof mountains in George, and the Eland's River mountains in Uitenhage.

The third and most important range is the one which connects, in a marked manner, the mountain system of the Cape colony with that of Africa generally. Starting from the rugged hills of the Kaimies Bergen, which forms as it were the north-west end of this important chain, we find the Hantam mountains, tabular in form, but generally detached; and then, entering the Roggeveld, arrive at the Roggeveld Bergen, standing like an immense wall on the north-east edge of the Great Karroo (or desert); trending, in a bold course, to the south-east, it continues in the Nieuweveld range to the west border of Graaf-Reynet, when it assumes the name of the Sneeuw-Bergen, and attains its greatest elevation in the Compass-Berg (10,250 feet). The Sneeuw-Bergen here presents as it were a prodigious knot of mountains, which soon, forming an immense loop, divide into two distinct chains, one running in a south-easterly direction, under the names of Bushberg, Great Winterberg (7,800 feet). Kat Berg (6,000 feet), the beautiful Amatola, and the Buffalo mountains, can be traced along the coast of Kaffraria, nearly as far as Natal. The other, and more important branch, trends to the north-east, forming the Rhenoster Berg, Zuur Berg, Bamboes Berg, Stormberg, Witteberg, Quathlamba, Maluti, and Draehenberg mountains, and continues to

be well defined to the north-east, as far as Africa has yet been explored. The average height of this chain may be perhaps estimated at 7,000 feet, while in particular places it reaches the altitude of 10,000 feet. Lying between it and the second chain is the Great Karroo, with an average height of 2,000 feet, and interspersed with several minor ranges of slaty rock, running generally in a direction from north-west to south-east. Towards the east the country improves until every trace of the parched and arid desert is lost in the luxuriant grassy pastures of Kafirland and Natal.

Nearly all these ranges have the distinguishing feature of presenting to the sea an abrupt and steep face, and sloping gradually away inland; in some cases, as in the Roggeveld mountains, they present nearly a perpendicular wall to the southward. While the coast face affords a luxuriant vegetation, and frequently abounds in large forests of fine timber, the inland slopes are nearly destitute of trees, or even bushes; and, generally speaking, the forests are most luxuriant on the highlands nearest the coast.

From the top of the Nieuweveld range the country may be considered to slope in an immense plain down to the basin of the Orange River, intersected by the beds of various periodical rivers, and abounding in detached hills, generally of a tabular form. Of these the most important group appears to traverse this desert track about half way between the top of the Nieuweveld and the Orange River, under the name of the Karree Bergen.

The same formation is found to extend throughout Bechuanaland and the north portion of the sovereignty, the immense plains of which exhibit much the same character as the north slopes of the Nieuweveld.

It will be seen, that while the third range of mountains maintain their bold and distinctive form throughout the Cape colony, the other ranges decline towards the eastward, and finally lose themselves on the coast. Geologists consider these parallel and successive ranges as marking former coast-lines, and various debris, evidently the remains of old beaches, can in many places be distinctly traced.\*

RIVERS.—The rivers of the Cape Colony, with the marked exception of the Orange, are generally small, and some of them

\* For the above account of the mountains of the Cape colony, I am indebted to the kindness and research of Mr. H. Hall, of the Royal Engineer Department.



nearly dry during part of the year, their mouths are barred with sand; but the Knysna, Kowie, and Breede, may be considered practicable at their entrance for vessels of 80 to 150 tons burthen.

The streams on the west coast, falling into the Atlantic, are the *Gariëp* or *Orange*; *Koussie* or *Rhinoster*; the *Zwartlinjies*, *Bitter*, *Groene* (three periodical streams); *Elephants*, and *Great Berg*; on the south coast the *Breede*, *Gauritz*, *Knysna*, *Kroome*, *Cantoos*, *Zwartkops*, *Sunday*, *Bushman*, *Kowie*, *Great Fish* (with its tributaries the *Kat* and *Kunap*), *Keiskamma*, and *Kei*, with their tributaries.

There are no lakes (properly so-called) within the colony, although, after heavy rains, many tracts in the northern desert assume the appearance of such. Large salt pans are numerous. Of the rivers one only requires particular notice.

THE ORANGE or GARIEP RIVER takes its rise in the south side of a mountain of the Quathlamba range, near 29° S. lat., and in about 30° E. long. This elevation was named by the French protestant missionaries who first explored it, the *Mont aux Sources*; its height above the sea is about 10,000 feet, and the summit, a table-land, is clothed with the richest verdure. The earth at the spot from whence the water gushes, is of a dark colour, and the hue which the stream thereby assumes has gained for it the appellation of *Noca Unchu*, or "Black River." It flows with a volume increased by small tributaries for about 120 miles to the south-west, through a valley formed by two chains of the Quathlamba. After crossing the thirtieth parallel of latitude, the *Gariëp* issues by a narrow pass from the valley, and takes a more westerly direction to Aliwal North, where it is joined by a stream called the *Kraai*. Thence making a bend to the northward, it receives, at Bethulie, the *Caledon River*, which originates in the west side of the *Mont aux Sources*, and has its stream enlarged by the waters of the *Tlotse* and the *Saule*, and by the melting snows of the contiguous mountains. The *Caledon*—in some places a fordable, in others a deep and rapid stream—is about 220 miles long. The *Orange*, to its junction with the *Caledon*, has a course of about 260 miles. Near Bethulie it is 930 feet wide, 2½ feet deep, with banks 25 feet high.

The united streams take a west and north-west course for 160 miles, under the name of the *Nu Gariëp*, and are then joined by the *Ky Gariëp*, *Fellow* or *Vaal*, near 29½° of S. lat. This last-named river is formed by numerous streams flowing from the more northerly parts of the Quathlamba Range, and the detached mountain spurs and table-land between 25° and 27° S. lat. Among them may be mentioned the *Wilge*, *Elands*, *Mull*, and *Liebenbergs*, which flow from a portion of the west side of the Quathlamba, termed the *Wittebergen* (White Mountain), not far from the *Mont aux Sources*; these passing to the northward and westward, form the

\* For a detailed and most interesting description of this noble stream and its tributaries, vide *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-east of the Cape Colony*, by the Rev. T. Arbousset and F.

*Vaal* or *Likwa*, and are joined in about 27° S. lat. by the *Mooi*, and its tributaries the *Chonapas*, *Pogolla*, &c., from the north and north-east country, where the emigrant boers have established their *Grensgebied* (signifying the emigrants' frontier territory or jurisdiction), the chief town, *Patchefstrom*, being situated on the *Mooi* River, in about 26° 35' S. lat. The *Vaal* has thence a south-west course, and is joined by the *Rhinoster*, *Vais*, *Boralla*, *Zand*, *Vet*, *Hart*, and *Riet* Rivers, forming the north and west boundary of the *Orange River Sovereignty*. The length of the *Vaal* is about 400 miles. The true *Orange* or *Gariëp* now proceeds in a westerly direction for about 550 miles, entering the sea in 28° 30' S. lat., 16° 30' E. long., and forming the northern boundary of the Cape of Good Hope colony.

Taking the *Vaal* as the commencement of the *Orange* River, the length of the whole channel may be roughly stated at 950 to 1,000 miles. Throughout its entire course, it may be considered a running stream, of unequal breadth and depth; in some places fordable during dry seasons, in others having pools (*gats*) sufficiently deep to float a ship of war. The seaward entrance is so effectively barred with sand as to be scarcely accessible even to boats, and the lower portion of the river is obstructed by falls and rapids, partly caused by the proximity of the mountain ranges to the banks, and partly by the falling of the plateaux forming this portion of Africa, towards the west coast. In its progress along the colonial boundary, the *Orange* receives, on its left bank, the *Visch* or *Hartebeest*, a periodical stream formed by the *Zak*, *Great Riet*, and other torrents which rise in and drain the northern slopes of the *Nieuweveld* and *Roggeveld* mountains. On the right bank, about forty miles from the sea, it is entered by the *Fish*, *Borrodaille*, or *Oup River*, which drains *Damara* and *Namaqualand*.

All who have visited the *Orange* River, above or below its bifurcation, dwell with delight on the beauty of its scenery, the transparency and delicious freshness of its waters, the lofty willow and mimosa trees whose graceful foliage shades its steep banks, the masses of brilliant-coloured rock which border its course, and the picturesque cascades and verdant isles scattered on its surface, as presenting a strong contrast to the wildness of the mountain country, through which it passes in its north-easterly course, and to the arid, rough, and uncultivated aspect of the plains which mark the more south-westerly portions of its progress.\*

**DIVISIONS.**—The colony was, in 1836, divided into two provinces, eastern and western. The latter comprehends the counties or divisions of the Cape, Malmesbury, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, Swellendam, Caledon, Clauwilliam, George, and Beaufort; the former, those of Albany, Fort Beaufort, Graaf Reynet, Somerset, Colesberg, Cradock, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), Albert, and Victoria. These divisions have civil commissioners appointed to them, whose duties as such are chiefly of a financial nature; but they Daumas, of the French (Protestant) Missionary Society, translated by the Rev. J. C. Brown, of Aberdeen. London and Aberdeen, 1852. See also the map annexed to the Rev. J. J. Freeman's *Tour in S. Africa*.

at the same time act as resident magistrates in their districts, of which there are now thirty in the colony, these being further partitioned into about 275 field-cornetcies, or wards.

THE CAPE DIVISION includes the Cape, Wynberg, and Simon's Town *Districts*, and is subdivided into twenty field-cornetcies. Formerly this division extended from the Cape of Good Hope to Point St. Martin, at the head of St. Helena Bay, a distance of about 125 miles; recently, however, a portion called Zwartland, including Saldanha Bay, has been formed into a division called Malmesbury. The Cape Peninsula, its most remarkable feature, is about thirty-six miles in length, by six to eight in breadth, and is composed of a series of broken mountains, with horizontal or cone-shaped summits, separated by narrow gorges.

CAPE TOWN is situated at the north end, which likewise comprises Table Mountain, Constantia Berg, and other elevations of less note, together with several valuable estates. The peninsula is joined to the main land by a low, flat, sandy isthmus, on whose south-east shores is the large inlet termed False Bay; and on the north-west Table Bay, which, although somewhat protected by Robben Island (eight miles from its entrance), is little better than an open roadstead, affording shelter to shipping during the spring and summer months, i.e. from September to May. A local committee have recently recommended the formation of a breakwater, 2,600 feet in length, and to extend to the depth of forty feet at low water, which would serve also for a pier and a battery; the estimated cost being £700,000. Some measure of this kind is greatly needed, and if undertaken even by a private company, must, if judiciously carried out, eventually prove remunerative. An effective breakwater might be made by rolling down a large portion of the Lion's Hill, as has been done with Killiney Hill, at Kingstown, near Dublin; or spacious docks might be constructed like those of Havre de Grace. Table Mountain, which rises immediately behind Table Bay, has a nearly horizontal ascent of two miles in length. Its summit, 3,582 feet above the level of the sea, comprises an irregular superficies of about ten acres in extent. In front are two buttresses or wings, termed the Devil's Mountain, 3,315, and the Lion's Head, 2,760 feet high, which evidently at one time formed a continuation of the Table, their tops having probably been washed away by oceanic currents. The Devil's Mountain is broken into irregular points, but the upper part of the Lion's Head is a solid mass of stone. The west side of the mountain is rent into deep chasms, forming as it were three sections of a ruined fortress, or resembling a curtain flanked by two enormous bastions.

*Robben Island*, which was used as the penal settlement of the Cape from the commencement of the colony until 1846, is seven miles in circumference, low, and with a clay-slate formation. Its appearance is arid, except in showery weather, and its only trees are those which have been planted as an orchard. Rabbits are numerous, but they are supposed to have been introduced. The prisoners formerly employed in quarrying slate flags, burning lime, &c., are now all removed and occupied in road-making, and the island is inhabited by lepers.

*False Bay* is about twenty miles deep from

south to north, with nearly the same breadth; the entrance is formed by the bold promontories of the Cape of Good Hope on the west, and Cape Hanglip on the east, distant seventeen miles. The soundings vary from ten to forty fathoms, and there are few dangers, the *Whittle Rock* and *Seal Island* on the west side being the principal. It is, however, open to all southerly winds, excepting a curve about midway on the west shore, termed *Simon's Bay*, where there is good anchorage in five to ten fathoms for a large fleet, *Noah's Ark* and the *Roman Rocks* forming a breakwater to any swell from the south-east. Three miles to the north of Simon's, is *Fish Hook Bay*, a small inlet, and three to the north-east is *Muysenberg*, about twelve miles from Cape Town. The north part of False Bay has a flat sandy shore, on which there is generally a heavy swell. On the north-east is *Gordon's Bay*, with three to ten fathoms' anchorage; and further south, near Cape Hanglip, is *Pringle's Bay*, with five to nine fathoms. *Hout Bay*, a small inlet between Table and False Bays, affords safe anchorage, except in south-west winds.

Cape L'Agulhas, in 34° 49' S., 20° E., the southernmost promontory of Africa, is an extensive flat surface, with an isolated hill at the extremity, whose elevation is 435 feet above the sea-level. A lighthouse has been erected 180 yards due north of the beach, at Northumberland point, on a slope of the hill which gradually shelves down to the point of Cape L'Agulhas. The lantern is thirty-three feet in circumference; the burners will light 270°, the remaining 90° being the only portion of the lantern obscured. The edifice presents a large front to the southward; height of the focus of light above the level of the sea, 125'; distance on the horizon from which it can be seen, fifteen miles; from the deck of a ship, making the height of the eye fifteen feet, twenty miles and-a-half; from a mast-head 100 feet high, twenty-eight miles. This cape forms part of the coast-line of the Caledon Division.

*Cape Town*, the metropolis of Africa, is well situated on the shores of Table Bay, on a plain which slopes towards the base of Table Mountain. The city is regularly constructed; broad streets, laid out at right angles, adorned with fine trees, and interspersed with public edifices, substantial private dwellings, and well-arranged squares, give a pleasing and metropolitan appearance. The castle on the left of the town is a pentagonal fortress, with a broad fosse and regular outworks. *Fort Krokke* on the east is connected with it by a rampart called the "sea lines;" further east is *Craig's Tower* and battery. *Amsterdam* and *Charonne batteries*, on the west side, command the bay; at the entrance of which, near where the *Mouillé battery* formerly stood, there is now a lighthouse. Three or four jetties facilitate the landing of passengers and goods.

The chief public buildings are the *Barracks* (apart from the castle), with quarters for 4,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry; the *Commissariat Stores*, an extensive new range near the wharf or landing-jetty of Table Bay, and the *Military Hospital*, a noble structure facing the sea. The *Colonial Office*, *Supreme Court*, *Treasury*, *Post-office*, &c., are in juxtaposition, adjoining the government gardens, in which are situated *Government House*, a college for public education, and an infant-school. A spacious public walk, shaded by large oak trees, and cooled in summer by streams of water, imparts beauty and freshness to the scenery. The *Police Office* is centrally situated, and the establishment efficiently



organized on the principle of the London police corps. The *Heeren Graecht*, in the centre of the city, is a noble street bounding the *Grand Parade* on the north-west side; it would be a striking object in any European capital. The *Commercial Exchange* stands on the Grand Parade; the *Commercial Hall* is a noble structure devoted to various purposes; the centre room, of spacious dimensions, is used for public meetings, concerts, and balls; in the great rooms the merchants assemble daily to transact business and read the newspapers. The *Library* occupies the north-east wing of the building; it is one of the best establishments of the kind in our colonies, and decidedly superior to those found in many old cities. About 50,000 volumes of the choicest works are gratuitously placed at the service of any visitor, under the regulations of a committee chosen annually from the subscribers.

Among the leading ecclesiastical structures may be mentioned, the *Reformed Church* (Dutch), an extensive building, with a good organ, and capable of holding 2,000 people; *St. George's* (the English cathedral), a handsome edifice, will accommodate 1,000; *St. Andrews* (Church of Scotland), 500. This last has a school-house adjacent for the instruction of the coloured races. The *Lutheran Church*, *St. Stephens* (lately the theatre), now possessed by a flourishing coloured congregation, a spacious building (1,600 seats), was presented to the congregation by the late Mr. Martin Melck; the *Independent, Wesleyan, South African Missionary*, and other temples dedicated to divine service, are an honour to the inhabitants who raised and support them.

The public burial-grounds extend over a sandy fiat, near the lighthouse, on the ascent of the Lion Hill. Those belonging to the different christian denominations are enclosed by walls; those of the Mahomedans, &c., are fenced in; but the one in which heathen slaves were formerly interred lies open, and adjoins the place where useless horses were shot, and is infested with dogs and carrion birds. (Backhouse, p. 812.)

To each of the churches and chapels a sunday-school is attached for the instruction of all classes of the community. The markets are admirably kept, and abundantly supplied with the finest meat, poultry, fish, vegetables, and fruit, at very moderate prices. Warehouses and retail shops exhibit every variety of European and tropical produce; weekly public sales, or rather fairs, take place on the parade-ground, where auctioneers have their respective stands, and all sorts of goods, domestic and foreign, apparel, furniture, eatables and drinkables, carriages, horses, cattle, sheep, &c., are offered for public competition. These Saturday *ventures* bring together a large and motley community.

Cape Town is a municipality, and is divided into twelve districts, each district comprising four wards. Its local affairs are managed by commissioners and wardmasters, elected by the rate-payers. The income of the corporation is about £10,000 a-year, derived from rates, rent, dues, licenses, &c. Among the institutions in the city, may be mentioned the South African College, and other educational establishments; Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, Tract Society, Auxiliary British and Foreign Bible Society, Bible Union, Ladies' Benevolent Society, Friendly Society, Orphan House, Private Widows' Fund, European Sick and Burial Society, Provident Society, Poor and Distressed Old Women's Society,

Literary and Scientific Institution, Agricultural Society, Botanic Garden Commission (under which a division of the government garden has been laid out as a botanic garden), several assurance companies, Masonic and Odd Fellows' Lodges, St. Patrick's Society, various banks, a Gas Company, &c.\* There is an efficient Royal Observatory; a handsome obelisk has been erected on the spot where the reflecting telescope of Sir John Herschel stood, during the period so successfully devoted by him to the examination of the stars and nebulae of the southern hemisphere. In Cape Town and its vicinity there are manufactories of hats, soap, candles, snuff, &c., several foundries, tanneries, and breweries, nine steam and several wind and water mills.

The suburbs are very picturesque: the gardens at the base of Table Mountain teem with luscious fruits, and in every direction vineyards, orchards, nurseries, parterres, plots of ground rich in all sorts of European, Indian, and African vegetables, and fields covered with wild flowers, especially the charming heaths (*ericas*), and bordered with geranium hedges, meet the eye. From every slight elevation the city is seen to great advantage, flanked by the spacious Table Bay, dotted with ships and boats; while on the opposite shore lies a fertile country, with bold mountain masses standing majestically in the foreground, or dimly receding in distant perspective.

*Green Point*, a village or township (possessing a municipality), is built facing the sea, at the foot of the Lion's Hill. Its peculiar situation and refreshing ocean breezes, have rendered it a favourite place of residence for merchants, and others whose avocations require their daily attendance in Cape Town, which is about three miles distant. The *Somerset Hospital*, placed between the city and Green Point, is open to all classes on moderate terms, and is under the control of government, who may order gratuitous aid where circumstances necessitate such relief.

*Rondebosch*, four miles from the castle, is a pretty suburb, with a neat church and school-house, and an improving country around. The road between *Rondebosch* and *Wynberg* is ornamented by planted woods of oak, stone, pine, and poplar, whose foliage forms a strong contrast to that of the silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) which forms natural woods along the sides of the mountains. This tree is about twenty feet high, and branched like a fir. Its leaves, about four inches long by one wide, are covered with a sort of silvery hair-like down, and form a singular feature in the landscape. At *Wynberg* eight miles, and *Constantia* twelve miles from Cape Town, the country is adorned by lofty trees, and interspersed with handsome villas, fraught with all the luxuries and comforts of English residences. At the little village of *Plumstead*, adjoining *Wynberg*, cottages have sprung up in all directions, around a Wesleyan chapel and school.

A local writer (in the *South African Almanac* for 1845,) thus enthusiastically describes this neighbourhood, and my memory bears witness that the picture is correct as well as charming:—"Wynberg is truly the 'Sweet Auburn' of South Africa, and is richly studded with handsome abodes and rustic cottages. Here our Indian visitors generally reside, and breathe the life-giving and health-restoring properties of its *caller* air. The walks and rides about *Wynberg* are magnificent; the spirit is invigorated

\* *Cape Town Almanac* for 1845, contains much valuable topographical detail.

by the scenery, the power of beauty is let into the soul by a sense of the loveliness of nature, and insensible must he be in his rambles about this spot, and witnessing the rich deep woods, the matchless mountains, the streams, the verdant earth, the cattle at pasture, and the fertility of the landscape, with the calm of evening spread over the whole, who does not rejoice afresh in His goodness, and exclaim—

“‘These are thy works, Almighty father! thine.’”

The celebrated Constantia wine is made only at three vineyards; two, if not all three of which, still remain in the possession of old and respected Dutch families.\* *High Constantia* belongs to the Van Reenen family; the mansion is large and tastefully constructed, and the grounds well laid out. *Great Constantia* belongs to the Cloete family; the buildings are extensive, and the vineyard, which is the original one, is large and productive. *Little Constantia* is very romantically situated, and here, as at the other estates, the numerous visitors are received with unflinching hospitality, shown the wine-stores and works, and enabled to judge for themselves of the merits of the rare and costly produce.

The mountains extending from Cape Town towards Cape Point, have craggy tops, bushy ravines, and some cultivated spots at the base. The road along the east side of these mountains leads to *Simon's Town*, where there is a naval arsenal, storehouse, dock-yard, admiral's dwelling, seaman's hospital, &c. The town is connected with the metropolis (24 miles distant) by a good road, and prettily situated on a slope between the sea and the foot of a steep mountain. The Episcopal church is a plain building near the beach; the Wesleyan chapel, on an eminence cut in the hill side, is a neat structure with a steeple. There is an hotel, beside several inns and public-houses.

MALMESBURY DIVISION, to the north of the Cape Division, was formerly known by the name of *Zwartland*; and the chief township by that of *Zwartlands Kerk*. It comprises the districts of *Malmesbury* and *Picketberg*, which latter takes its name from a sandstone mountain, about 4,000 feet high. The village of Malmesbury is forty miles from Cape Town, and may be reached in a horse-waggon in about eight hours. There is a church, a school, and public offices. The well-built houses, and the open square, in the centre of which the church stands, have a pleasing effect, but otherwise the general appearance of the place is not interesting; the bleakness of the situation, combining with a deficiency of water, to prevent the inhabitants from cultivating gardens to any extent. Near the parsonage is a warm spring, impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen, and containing lime, soda, and magnesia—temperature 92° to 96°. The supply of grain is so large from this district, that it has received the appellation of the “granary of the colony.”

This division includes the bays of *Saldanha* and *St. Helena*. The former is one of the most extensive, secure, and beautiful havens in the eastern hemisphere. Its north point is in 33° 3' S. lat., and 17° 49' E. long., a little more than seventy-five miles north

of the southern extremity of the Cape. It is about fifteen miles in length, in the direction of north and south, with an entrance (through a ridge of granite hills) of nearly three miles broad. On the south-west side is *Jutten Islet*, with two small peaks, and on the north shore is *Madagas Island*; *Marcus Island* divides the entrance into two channels, of which the southern is the wider and safer. South of this island are two small bays, in either of which there is good anchorage in three to seven fathoms, having *Meevan* and *Shopen Islands* to the south. Westerly gales cause a heavy sea to break far out on the eastern shore, but in *Hoeljes Bay* (the northern arm of the bay), vessels can anchor in three to seven fathoms close in, free from danger in all weathers. The “river,” as part of the bay is termed, extends seven miles, to some salt pans, in a south-east direction. Unfortunately fresh water is not found in sufficient quantity near the bay for the supply of shipping, but this defect is not considered an irremediable one. (*Cape Almanack* for 1851, p. 211.) *St. Helena Bay* is well sheltered from the south and east, but exposed to the north. It has good anchorage, and a creek on its south side may be safely resorted to as a harbour for small coasting vessels. The *Berg* (mountain) *River*, which has its source in the sandstone and slate mountains of *Drakenstein* (Dragonstone) enters the bay, but its mouth is obstructed by the sand-bar, common to South African streams. Backhouse states that when he visited the country in 1840, a few hippopotami preserved by a boor residing near the entrance of the *Berg River*, were so tame as to come near the house of their protector.

STELLENBOSCH AND PAARL DIVISIONS, to the east of the Cape Division, abound in picturesque scenery, have a rich soil and mild climate. The town of *Stellenbosch* (one of the oldest in the colony, having been founded as early as 1681) is beautifully situated along the north bank of the *Eerste River*, at the head of a valley almost surrounded by mountains, and shaded by groves of magnificent oak trees. The charming village, named the *Paarl* (pearl), is sheltered to the eastward by the isolated eminence from which it takes its name. The best view of it is to be obtained from the *Paarl Klip* (stone), one of the three great granite rocks which lie on the top of the mountain. The farms are small, compared with those of other districts, and the farmers are chiefly employed in the cultivation of the vine, in which they are peculiarly successful. The rising village of *Wellington* is about nine miles distant, a little to the eastward of which the excellent new road to the interior districts crosses the first great range of mountains, by a pass called *Bain's Kloof*.

WORCESTER DIVISION comprises the districts of *Worcester* and *Tulbagh*. The *Cold Bokkeveld* (Buckfield) forms an interesting part of this division. The climate in this elevated country is very sharp during the winter season, but pleasant in summer. In winter the farmers remove their flocks to the lower and milder Karroo plains, which are, however, reckoned of so little value, that 10,000 acres may be rented from government for £1 per annum. (*Vide Bishop of Cape Town's Visitation Journal* of 1850, p. 6.) The *Warm Bokkeveld* is a valley of minor elevation, which appears to have formed the basin of an ancient lake. Fruit thrives well here. The whole of the Bokkevelde are excellently adapted for the produce of grain, but the expense of transport has hitherto prevented its extensive cultivation. The town of Worcester contains several regularly

\* Estates change hands very frequently at the Cape, in consequence of the equal division of property on the demise of the head of a family,—the old Dutch law, though no longer compulsory, having merged in an established custom.



planned streets of whitewashed brick houses, and is built at the foot of some low slate hills, upon a plain about ten miles across, intervening between the rugged mountains of the Cold Bokkeveld and the Goudine. It is well supplied with water from the Kei River. The Breede River likewise passes through this extensive division, of whose twenty-three field-cornetries or wards, that named *Tulbagh* is the most populous and fertile. The pretty town or village of *Tulbagh*, built of white houses in the Dutch style, is so completely shut in by mountains on three sides, and so far up a long vale, that it is hardly likely to increase in size or importance.

**CLANWILLIAM DIVISION.**—The town or village of *Clanwilliam* is about 168 miles north of Cape Town, and is situated near to the junction of the Jan Dissel with the Oliphant River; it being abundantly supplied with water by a streamlet out of the former river. The situation is picturesque, being between two ranges of mountains, but the place is uncomfortable in summer, as it is built on a sandy flat, from which the heat is strongly reflected. With few exceptions, the whole of this, the largest division, is subject to severe droughts, which compel the farmers to migrate with their flocks.

The most interesting ward is that commonly called the "*Mouth of the Oliphant River.*" Most of the places below the junction of the *Doorn* (thorn) River, have an extent of low land along the borders, which, when the river overflows, becomes extremely fertile, from the vast quantity of alluvial karroo mud carried down and deposited on it. The river is navigable with boats for upwards of thirty miles, at which distance it is regularly affected by the tide. The mouth is barred by a reef of rocks, extending from south to north, and by a sand-bar running from north to south, but between the two bars a channel is left always open, through which whalers' boats are in the habit of coming up the river to take in water and provisions. On the north side of the mouth is a small inlet or bay, with a sandy bottom, where ships may drop anchor under certain precautions.

At about thirty miles east of *Clanwilliam* are situated the lofty and imposing *Cedarbergen*, or Cedar Mountains, which derive their name from the number of cedar trees found scattered over them. Many Hottentots obtain a livelihood by felling the timber, which, when sawn into planks, is drawn upon sledges over the rugged mountain passes, and brought into the village, where it meets a speedy sale. A wood resembling ebony is likewise abundant here.

*Lambert's Bay*, thirty or forty miles west of the village, is available to small coasters, and has proved very useful, considerable quantities of grain being annually brought up to Cape Town from thence. The greatest part of this generally barren division consists of grazing country; grain being only produced in small quantities for home consumption, except where the neighbourhood of a bay affords an outlet to Cape Town. Good tobacco and some rice are also grown here, and are readily bought and consumed on the spot. In the village two hat manufactories have been carried on for several years, the coarse hats which are made here being extensively used by the farmers. In the neighbourhood there is a fine chalybeate and likewise a hot spring, much resorted to for rheumatic complaints and cutaneous disorders. Beyond the *Kamiesberg* considerable quantities of copper have been found as early as the year 1751, but the estimated expense of work-

ing the mines and transporting the article it is feared would exceed its marketable value.

**CALEDON DIVISION**, to the north-east of *Stellenbosch* division, includes the villages of *Caledon* and *Breda's Dorp*. At the former of these, there are two valuable warm springs, containing muriate of soda, whose waters are used both internally and for bathing. To the northward of *Caledon*, on the southern confines of *Worcester Division*, is the celebrated Moravian mission station of *Genadendal*, prettily situated in a broad valley among mountains, from whence several streams descend, fertilizing the gardens and other grounds. Twenty-two miles south of *Caledon*, near the sea-shore, is the village called *Heemel en Aarde* (heaven and earth), devoted by the government to the use of lepers. The patients are chiefly Hottentots. The frightful disease with which they are affected, destroys the fingers and toes, which drop off without pain. This species of leprosy is not considered contagious, but it is hereditary. Large quantities of grain and wool are produced in this division, the rearing of merino sheep making considerable progress among the farmers. The produce is for the most part exported coastwise by local speculators, through *Struys* and *Walker's Bays*, the farmers finding it more profitable and convenient to dispose of it thus, than to bring it up to Cape Town themselves.

**SWELLENDAM DIVISION** comprises the districts of *Swellendam* and *Riversdale*. The climate generally is very salubrious. In winter the mountains are frequently covered with snow nearly to their base, the low lands have frosty nights, and in many parts every species of live-stock thrives well during winter; but often during the summer months severe droughts prevail, to the injury of the crops and stock.

The village of *Swellendam* is one of the most cheerful-looking in the colony. It has a good church, parsonage, town-hall, gaol, and other public buildings; and its neat white houses, some in the English and others in the old Dutch style, are interspersed with trees and gardens watered by a mountain streamlet. It is situated in a hilly and verdant tract called the *Gras Veld* (grass field), which lies between the *Langebergen* (long mountains) and the coast. There is a government school in *Swellendam*, as in most of the colonial towns. A reading-room and library have been long established here. When visited by Backhouse, in 1838, the librarian was a Mantatee, who, having been carefully educated, was as well fitted for his post as if born in civilized society. *Riversdale* is a rising village, in the neighbourhood of which there is some fine land watered by the *Vet* stream.

On the line of sea coast within this division is situate *St. Sebastian's Bay*, now called *Port Beaufort*, into which the Breede River flows. Vessels drawing about twelve feet enter the bay, and go up the river about forty miles, past *Malagas Kraal*, as far as *Michael's Kraal*. A very considerable export of wool, aloes, skins, hides, feathers, &c., has taken place from this port to England, and of grain, butter, cattle, mules, &c., to the Mauritius, and to Table and Algoa Bays. Two mineral springs, one containing muriate of soda and the other carbonate of lime, and a salt pan, are found in this division.

**GEORGE DIVISION** comprises the districts of *George* and *Mossel* (mussel) Bay. Its chief productions are wool, butter, aloes, grain, cattle, and salt, this latter being procured from a few saline lakes situated

close to the mouth of the *Gauritz* (rapid, rustling) and *Kleine Brak* (small saltish) Rivers. Several beautiful and extensive woods are interspersed among the grassy hills of this part of the country. The trees are large and much overrun with climbers and parasitical plants of the *Orchis* tribe. *Laurus Buttata* (stink wood), which is allied to the bay, and *Podocarpus elongata* (yellow wood), are the kinds chiefly cut; the latter resembles the yew, and is the prevailing tree in the forests and on the banks of rivers on the eastern side of South Africa. It is generally "draped" with a long, shaggy, green lichen. Baboons, monkeys, bush bucks, spotted hyenas, leopards, buffaloes, and elephants, inhabit these woods; the two latter animals are, however, now scarce, and when a leopard is discovered, it is hunted unremittingly till destroyed.

The little town of *George*, situate about seven miles from the sea-shore, contains English and Dissenting, Dutch, and Roman Catholic places of worship; unhappily, it has also a more than proportionate number of "canteens," or retail spirit stores. Three miles from George is the London Missionary station of *Pacaltsdorp*. The surrounding district has good pasture for cattle during the summer months. Several small rivers of fresh water run through it; and the soil is well suited for the culture of pulse, principally beans, of which two crops can be reaped from the same ground in each summer season.

*Mossel Bay*, after *Simon's Bay* the safest on the east coast of the colony, is, from its local situation, well adapted for the seaport of George and Beaufort Divisions. Boats can always land with safety. The water is wholesome, and every kind of refreshment easily obtainable. A whale-fishery was formerly carried on here with success. Several kinds of fish are caught in the *Great and Little Brak Rivers*, which disembogue in Mossel Bay.

*Plettenberg Bay* is a fine portion of the district of George, and the excellent pasture, and abundance of fish in the bay, together with the contiguity of an extensive and valuable forest, seem to invite the particular attention of small capitalists. The bay is open to the south-east, affording a safe anchorage in eight, nine, and ten fathoms water, and it offers shelter during strong north and north-west gales to vessels intending to make Table Bay. It is exposed to the south-east, but is roomy, and presents no formidable danger, as vessels can get out readily, if necessitated to do so by one of the sudden changes of wind to which this coast is peculiarly liable. Boats may be "beached" there with ease and safety. Vessels are frequently chartered to bring wood from this place to Table Bay.

The *River Knysna* is situated between Mossel and Plettenberg Bays. It has a bar, but instead of being a sand-bar, which all other rivers have on this coast, it is of rock, and is covered with water to the depth of fourteen feet, at ebb tide. The entrance is, unfortunately, only about 180 yards wide, between perpendicular rocks of some hundred feet high. There is a large lake-like basin inside, capable of holding a great number of vessels, and the river is navigable for small vessels, to a distance of ten miles. Its banks abound with large timber. The *Knysna* can always be entered, except in very strong winds, by vessels drawing not more than fourteen feet water; but at flood tide vessels of larger draught may enter. It is, however, less easy to get out than to get in; but a small tug-steamer might

be stationed there to tow vessels out at very little expense, for fuel, which is the chief requisite, can be procured at a low price. The neighbourhood of the *Knysna Harbour*, formerly called *Outeniqualand*, is picturesque and imposing in a high degree; the striking outline of the lofty, rugged mountains, crested with clouds, and clothed with majestic forests, seeming almost as ancient as the rocks which frown above them, and the vast ocean swelling at their base, form a scene of extreme grandeur.

In the *Zwarteberg* (black mountain) range, which separates the division of George from that of Beaufort, are the famous *Cango Caverns*, which, for beauty, height, and extent, are probably unrivalled. They were discovered by a boor in 1780, but have been only partially explored. The road to the caverns lies through a precipitous mountain defile, forming the *poort* or pass of the *Grobbebaai River*, which flows in a serpentine direction, here gently, there precipitously, through the dense jungle that skirts its banks. Subterranean convulsions have created wild and magnificent scenery. The rocks, broken into the strangest forms, are for the most part covered with vegetation; graceful mimosa trees, crimson geraniums, large and splendid plants of *palma Christi*, and a kind of strong-scented lilac, imparting their own peculiar charm to a prospect which would otherwise be calculated to appal rather than delight the traveller. The entrance to these "crystal palaces" is through a noble arch, about twenty feet in height; from whence an irregular vestibule, 200 feet in length, leads to a descent of about thirty feet, which (being accomplished by means of a ladder) opens upon a series of spacious saloon-like vaults. One, 600 feet long by 100 broad, and 60 high, is adorned with millions of stalactites, sometimes assuming the shapes of curiously carved flower-wreaths, cascades, pulpits, animals, drapery, and grotesque figures of every description; at others, forming fluted pillars of amazing height, and resembling at some distance immense cathedral organs, or primeval trees. Niches, columns, cornices, and fretted work, adorn the sides and roofs; some of the stalactites are white and glittering, others transparent. A very singular portion of this palace, not made with hands, is termed "the Bath," because it contains curious natural cisterns, forming marble basins, filled with cool and limpid water. Crystallization is still going on extensively in many places, but in others it has given place to the opposite process of disintegration. The so-called "sand-room" is strewn with fine sand, probably consisting of the decayed crystals of decomposed stalactites.

The extensive inland DIVISION OF BEAUFORT is singularly devoid of lakes or running streams. The *Gouph* is an extensive tract of undulating country, interspersed with extensive flats, lying between the *Zwarteberg* and *Nieuweweld* mountains. Its breadth varies from 60 to 100 miles. The *Dieglya* (rhinoceros) *River* separates it from the division of Worcester, and the *Karega* and *Salt Rivers* from that of Graaf-Reynet. It is chiefly used as a sheepwalk, and is commonly known by the name of *Karoo* or *Kanneland*, from its producing a bush abounding with soda called *Kannabosch* (*Caroxylon Salsola*). There is very little grass, except in remarkably fine seasons, when it produces abundance of the most luxuriant kind; and in such seasons the fattest oxen in the colony are to be seen here. A deficiency of water is its prevailing defect. The strange atmospheric illusion, termed the *mirage*, often cruelly disappoints



the thirsty traveller, presenting to him the appearance of lakes and streamlets in the most arid localities, besides causing the mountains to appear as if they were cut off by the base and raised in the air, with other unaccountable phenomena. The pretty little town of Beaufort is situated upon the open karroo, about 360 miles east of Cape Town, and 144 miles west of Graaf-Reynet. It is watered by two copious springs, which give its gardens an extraordinary degree of fertility, and its streets are bordered with mulberry, pear, melia, and weeping willow trees.

The *Nieuweveld* (new field) commences at a range of mountains extending from the *Duyka* (rhinoceros) River, on the Worcester side, to Salt River, on the Graaf-Reynet frontier. Its northern boundary extends to the *Kareeberg*. It is rather a hilly country. The grazing consists of heath and grass, but principally of the former,—the lower parts of the country being covered with heath, and the sides and tops of the mountains with grass.

The *Zwarteberg* field-cornetcy is famed for dried fruits of a superior quality. Some grain is raised there. Skins and ostrich feathers are sent in considerable quantities to Port Elizabeth for exportation. There are cold mineral springs in various parts of this division, whose waters are considered very efficacious in rheumatic complaints.

The greater part of the EASTERN PROVINCE was, at the beginning of the present century, in the possession of the Kafirs. It now contains the following divisions or counties:—

ALBANY DIVISION, though small, is important, as being more populous than any portion of the colony except the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and containing *Graham's Town*, the chief place in the Eastern Province. The northern district, called *Upper Albany*, affords the best pasturage; the southern, called *Lower Albany*, is the tract of country formerly known as the *Zuurveld* (sour field), allotted to a large proportion of the 4,000 British settlers of 1820, whose high raised expectations, its sour and rank herbage, humid atmosphere, yet deficiency of water for irrigation, great distance from Cape Town, and indeed from anything like civilized life, must have cruelly disappointed. At the time of their arrival GRAHAM'S TOWN was but a little village, which had risen up around the site of a military station, formed by the officer whose name it bears, with twenty-two houses, and 150 inhabitants. It has now an almost exclusively English population of 4,000, about one-sixth as much as Cape Town. In appearance it is cheerless and uninviting, being situated on a flat, surrounded by low rocky sandstone hills, on which grass has taken the place of the thorny minosa thickets, long since cleared away for firewood, but devoid of trees, except in the kloofs or ravines, which have some large timber, and exhibit very picturesque scenery. From one of these kloofs issues a small but perennial streamlet, which meanders along the outskirts of the town, and forms the principal branch of the *River Kowie*, and in the distance a single white conical hill, named the *Lynx Kopjie* (head), forms a conspicuous object, and is celebrated as being the spot from whence Makanna directed the attack on Graham's Town, in 1819.

The township is large and straggling, and the streets, though well laid out, wide, and regular, remain unpaved, and full of ruts and inequalities. In some of them there are rows of fine oak trees

facing the houses, occasionally varied by the handsome *Kafir Boom* (*Erythrina*). In addition to the public buildings common to provincial towns, few, if any, of which claim special regard, there are various others connected with the military, whose presence has so greatly contributed to the rapid increase of the town. Places of worship are numerous and creditably built; of these the great majority belong to the Wesleyans and Independents, who constitute by far the most influential section of the community. The town is governed by a municipality, composed of six commissioners, elected by the householders generally, and eight ward-masters, chosen by the inhabitants of the respective wards.

There is no port in this division except the *Kowie Mouth*, which is unfortunately barred by so large an accumulation of sand as to render its entrance hazardous even to small vessels. Persevering attempts have been made to effectually deepen the channel, by the proprietor of the adjacent land, but with scarcely any success.

FORT BEAUFORT DIVISION.—*Fort Beaufort* has been recently elevated from a mere military post, to be the chief place of a division, which, though small, is valuable, from comprising some of the finest sheep and grain farms in the colony, several of which, notwithstanding their contiguity to the Kafirland, were considered, at the close of 1850, worth from £4000 to £5,000.—(See *Van de Sandt's Cape Almanack* for 1851. It is situated on a small peninsula formed by a bend of the Kat River, and contains various substantial dwellings and stores, as well as extensive military buildings. The neighbouring country affords excellent grazing ground, and is of a pleasing character, the absence of trees being to some extent compensated by abundance of low shrubs entwined with flowers of various kinds, especially a sweet-scented jasmine, and several species of geranium.

A few miles above *Fort Beaufort*, keeping the course of the river, the road leads through a narrow poort, or defile, to a stream called the *Blinkwater*, to the right of which lies the devastated *Stockenström District*, more generally known as the Hottentot or Kat River Settlement. In September, 1851, the population amounted to about 5,000, the great majority of whom were connected with the London Missionary Society. The chief stations were those of *Philipton*, *Balfour*, and *Blinkwater* or *Tidmantion*: there were also eleven out-stations, namely, those of *Buxton*, *Lushington*, *Bruceton*, *Vanderkemp*, *Mancanza*, &c., occupying altogether an extent of about 160 square miles. This tract may be described as a basin, surrounded by lofty mountains, whose rugged sides are in many places clothed with magnificent timber of the most useful description. The lofty ranges of the *Winterberg* form the northern boundary of the district, the smaller spurs sloping gently down to the lovely valleys at their base; the larger separating the various settlements already mentioned. Very interesting views are obtained from several of these heights, whence copious streams descend, and after irrigating the lower grounds, run off into the Kat, which is itself a tributary of the Great Fish River.

Immediately before the outbreak of the last war, art and nature seemed to have each done their utmost to adorn the prospect, for the eye feasted not only on the sublime scenery of the mountain, with its forests, ravines, and cataracts, but on the soft undulating surface of the cultivated land beneath. The corn springing up luxuriantly over acre after

acre, the orchards well stocked with the peach, nectarine, and apple; the humble cottages, and their native owners, all clad in European clothing, and possessed not only of sheep and goats, but also teams of oxen, horses, and waggons, then afforded ample evidence of the determined industry evinced by the settlers, who, after being twice reduced to beggary, had undauntedly commenced rebuilding their houses, and ploughing their land. Before the war of 1846, they had about 3,000 draught oxen; and poultry and pigs abounded; but all these perished. (Freeman's *South Africa*, pp. 154, '5, '6, '7.)

GRAAF-REYNET DIVISION contains the district bearing its name, and another called Richmond, which together comprise the first tract of country occupied by Europeans in the eastern province. It was formed into a district in 1806, by Governor Van de Graaff, and named after him and his wife Reynetta. The town or village of *Graaf-Reynet* is one of the most pleasing and regularly laid out villages in the colony. It is situated in an angle of the *Sneeubergen* (snow) Mountains, on the left bank of the *Zondag* (Sunday) River, from whence water is led out by a canal, yielding a plentiful supply. Its streets are spacious, intersecting each other at right angles. Most of them are planted with lemon trees, interspersed with the acacia, oleander, and the lilac-coloured syringa, the Kafir broom, and some very fine weeping willows. Almost every house has a garden abounding with the fig-tree, peach, vine, mulberry, pear, orange, pomegranate, apricot, &c. A handsome Dutch church is well placed in the centre of the town; there is an excellent market-place, and what is called the "Boers' place," a convenient open spot where the farmers unyoke their oxen and put up their waggons on coming to church. The public offices, court-house, and other buildings, are of a very substantial description, and the shops and warehouses well stored. The prosperity of the town is greatly attributable to the indefatigable exertions of Captain (now Sir Andreas) Stockenstrom, while holding the position of its chief magistrate. Its principal produce consists of dried fruits, oranges, wine, and brandy.

The division consists of upland and lowland, and the soil varies much, but is in general extremely rich, especially where watered by the Sunday River. The pasturage is diversified, and suited to various descriptions of stock,—the horse thriving in the upland, and fine-woolled sheep in the lowland, which latter abounds with a valuable shrub called *spekboom*, that affords excellent food for sheep and goats. Large tracts are entirely destitute of wood, and the farmers dig cowdung out of the kraals, cut it into square pieces, and stack it for fuel, as is the case in many parts of India. Game of all kinds is plentiful, sometimes superabundant, as herds of *springbok* and other animals, when driven by drought from the interior, migrate into the colony, and entirely consume the herbage. Landed property in this division has of late years greatly increased in value.

SOMERSET DIVISION is very diversified in its soil and character: a considerable portion of it is occupied by the *Great Fish River*, which completely drains it (receiving nearly every smaller stream by which it is watered), and flows through a valley in many parts several miles in width. In dry seasons it is extremely arid, but after rains abounds in pasture of the best description.

The village of *Somerset* is a pretty but straggling place, plentifully supplied with water from the eminence named the *Bushberg*, at whose foot it stands. To the southward of it a fine open country stretches for many miles; a little to the northward lies the mountain basin (*Zwagers Hoek*), from whence issues the *Little Fish River*. This tract is very valuable, although from its alpine character the climate in winter is often extremely severe. It contains some good grain farms, and is famous for the rearing of cattle and horses. The region extending from the right bank of the Koonap River, and from thence to the *Manezana* and *Bariauns* (baboons) Rivers, is occupied by British emigrants, some of whom possess immense flocks of fine woolled sheep.

COLESBERG DIVISION is bounded on the north by the Orange River for a distance of 200 miles, and owes much of its importance to the circumstance of the main-road leading to the fording-place on the river, and from thence to the Griqua and Bechuana countries, passing directly through it. *Colesberg* village is situated in a kind of valley between two rows of barren broken rocks, and was established by Sir Lowry Cole, in 1831. The manner in which the land was obtained, or rather seized from the Bushmen, is alleged to have been extremely discreditable. (*Vide Backhouse's Narrative*, pp. 344, '5.)

The general appearance of the surrounding country is dreary and monotonous, there being always great scarcity of wood, and frequently of water; but much has been done to remedy this latter defect by the construction of dams. Sharp frosts and violent snow-storms are common; yet in cattle and sheep this division is considered to be the richest in the colony, and the field-cornetcy of *Hantum* is remarkable for a hardy breed of horses.

CRADOCK DIVISION lies between Somerset, Graaf-Reynet, and Colesberg, and is like them exclusively inland. It contains some valuable and productive farms, but the greater part consists of Karroo land, which, though prolific where well watered, is arid and sterile in the extreme in recurring seasons of drought. Corn and fruit are largely produced in *Brak* (salt) River District; the *Achter* (little *Sneeu-berg*) is famous for fine cattle, and the Tarka district for sheep. *Cradock* village is situated on the left bank of the Great Fish River, and in consequence of the high road to the north passing through it, is a place of considerable trade. It has a Dutch church, Wesleyan and Independent chapels; but the members of the Church of England, who are in the minority, use the court-house as a place of public worship. Cold and tepid chalybeate springs exist close to the village.

UITENHAGE AND PORT ELIZABETH DIVISIONS are watered by the *wartkops* (black heads), *Zondag*, *Kromme* (crooked), and *Gumtoos* or *Chantoois* Rivers, of which only the first, which falls into Algoa Bay to the north-west of *Port Elizabeth*, is navigable. This may be entered by small craft, and is deep and free from impediments for some miles up, but its mouth is obstructed by a bar of sand, upon which at spring tides there is about twelve feet of water; outside, the anchorage is said to be very good. *Uitenhage*, a neat and flourishing town, is built on the left bank of the *Zwartkops*, on the declivity of a hill distant twenty miles from *Port Elizabeth*. The streets are spacious, and intersect each other at right angles. The gardens are numerous, abounding with fine fruit trees, among which some rare kinds may be observed, and well irri-



gated by means of a streamlet, which rises in the eastern extremity of the *Winterhoek Mountains*, at a distance of some six miles from the town, and never fails even in the driest seasons. The celebrated mission station of *Bethelsdorp* (village of Bethel), about eleven miles to the south-east of Uitenhage, consists of a square of whitewashed, red tiled, stone buildings, including the chapel and schoolhouses, and several other houses and cottages arranged in little streets. The various natural disadvantages of the place, so bitterly complained of by Dr. Vanderkemp, its unfitness either for grazing or agriculture, and great deficiency of water, have proved an irremovable bar to its progress. In fact the people could not have subsisted on the lands belonging to the institution, which, however, fortunately for them, include a shallow lake, of about four miles in circumference, constituting a large natural salt pan; the salt, which forms a crust or deposit under the water, of about a quarter or half-an-inch in thickness, is scraped together in heaps, carefully washed, and sold for home consumption, manure, or for exportation. The price is 1s. 6d. per muid (containing four measures of a foot each), which, considering the amount of labour employed in preparing it, and the expense of conveyance by ox-waggons, affords but scanty remuneration. Hewing and carrying wood for fuel, &c., from the adjacent forests, have likewise proved a means of support to the Hottentots, as has the collection of the drug called aloes, the plant from which it is obtained growing abundantly in and about Bethelsdorp, as also in the poor, stony, and bushy tract lying between this place and Port Elizabeth, about nine miles distant.

Port Elizabeth has proved very useful, being the only anchorage between Cape Town and Natal really useful and available for commercial purposes at all seasons. I visited Algoa Bay in H.M.S. *Leven*, as long ago as 1823, when its value was but little understood, and during a heavy gale we rode in perfect safety, with a chain bent on to a hemp cable; the vessel absolutely rode by the weight of the chain without straining the anchor. The bay has, however, its disadvantages for shipping. The south-east wind creates a tremendous surf, and cuts off communication between the vessels and the beach. Greater facilities for loading and unloading, are much required; but these are difficulties which enterprise and science will probably eventually overcome. There are now generally from twenty to thirty sail of merchantmen lying at anchor in the roadstead. On Cape Recife, forming the western limit of Algoa Bay, a lighthouse has been lately erected by the colonial government at a cost of nearly £20,000; it is a handsome octagonal building of cut stone, exhibiting a fixed light visible to a radius of ten miles. Fort Frederic, an old Dutch fort, commands the anchorage, but it is in a very dilapidated condition. The town, founded in 1822, by Sir R. Donkin, is rapidly rising into importance, and contains now between 5,000 and 6,000 inhabitants. It possesses a bank, three newspapers, numerous stores, military and commissariat establishments, and good handsome places of worship belonging to the church of England, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, and Independent congregations. Landed property of every kind is very valuable, and house-rent exorbitantly high. On a hill rising immediately above the town, there is a monument to the memory of the Lady Elizabeth Donkin, whose name it bears.

The chief advantages of the above divisions, but

more especially of Uitenhage, are, capabilities for rearing black cattle and fine-wooled sheep. The land varies greatly in quality; that bordering the sea receiving sufficient moisture, without irrigation, for the production of wheat, barley, rye, and oats. About ten miles from the shore the soil in many places consists of a clayish mould well adapted for horticultural purposes; at the same distance from the sea, towards Uitenhage, there are large beds of sea-shells and fossil shell-fish, which, when properly calcined, afford excellent lime.

**ALBERT DIVISION.**—The territory now designated by this name was annexed to the colony by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in 1835; but, by order of the home government, the newly-assumed power was speedily renounced. In 1848, Sir H. Smith again included it within the limits of the colony, omitting, however, the only measure which could justify this step, viz.:—registering the number and claims of the native inhabitants, and securing a certain portion of inalienable territory for them. The Dutch farmers, whose aggressive and lawless state was the plea for this fresh widening of the boundary, were better cared for, farms averaging 6,000 acres each being surveyed, and legal titles granted them by the colonial authorities. Albert Division extends in an angular form between the sovereignty and Kafirland, and includes the country sloping down from the north-west of the Stormberg Mountains, to the Orange River; it is bounded on the east by the steep and lofty Wittebergen (white mountains), which may be considered as an offshoot nearly at right-angles to the Stormberg range, near its junction with the Quathlamba. It contains a superficies of nearly 8,000 square miles, very partially watered by the Great Orange, the Kraai, and several minor streams. The chief drawback is the absence of springs. Excepting in the immediate vicinity of the above-mentioned rivers, the water employed in irrigation and for the use of cattle, consists almost exclusively of rain collected in tanks, or procured by means of dams formed in the rocky gullies.

Many of the farms here are very cold, and wood for fuel or building is generally extremely scarce, except near the banks of the Orange and Kraai Rivers. Traces of coal and other minerals have been observed, and fossil remains in great numbers are found in the Wittebergen.

The seat of magistracy, *Burghersdorp*, on the Stormberg Spruit (water-course), is a desolate-looking place, built in a swamp, and surrounded by a very bare and uninteresting region. It has, however, a handsome church and parsonage, the former of which already shows signs of decay. One of the chief roads to the Sovereignty passes through Burghersdorp, and crosses the Orange River near where the Stormberg Spruit falls into it. The whole of this division is traversed by good natural roads, which may easily be kept in repair. The site of a new town called *Alival North*, has been fixed in a fine plain about four miles west of the Kraai River, near some celebrated hot springs called *Buffalo Vlei* (fountain). Lions and the larger antelopes are still common in the wild country at the head of the Kraai River. The Wesleyans have one or two mission-stations amongst the native tribes residing near the Wittebergen.

**VICTORIA DIVISION** comprises about a million acres of land, and is formed by nature into two distinct portions, of which the southern includes the

territory between the Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, celebrated in frontier history under the name of the neutral ground; and the northern, that part of Tambookie-land annexed by Sir H. Smith in 1848, bounded by the Claas Smidt River, and the Black Kei on the west; the Stormbergen on the north; and the Indive, White Kei, and Klip Plaat River, on the east and south. The Great Winterberg, Katberg, and Amatola Mountains, separate North and South Victoria, the prominent eminence named *Gaika's Kop* (head), 6,400 feet high, in which the Chumie River has its source, forming as it were the central point (like the narrow part of an hour-glass,) between the two divisions.

North Victoria is distinguished by the bare and rocky characteristics of the higher plateaux. Many of its mountains attain a considerable elevation. *Hanglip* rises 6,800 feet, and the Stormberg range has an average altitude of between 6,000 and 7,000 feet. It is well supplied with pure water by the numerous and overflowing streams which unite to form the Great Kei, including the Black and White Kei, and others before mentioned.

A village named *Whittlesea* has been commenced about five miles from the confluence of the Klip Plaat's with the Great Kei River, and an extensive coal deposit is alleged to exist in the neighbourhood. Two miles south of Whittlesea is the site of the deserted Moravian mission village of *Shiloh*.

South Victoria comprehends a sea-line of about thirty-five miles, and possesses the broken and bushy features common to the coast regions of the colony. Its only important streams are those (the Fish and Keiskamma) that respectively constitute its eastern and western boundaries, between which it forms a high, and in many places, very beautiful table-land, intersected with numerous deep kloofs and ravines, forming on the west side the most inaccessible part of the Fish River Bush. *Alice*, on the Chumie River, is laid out as the chief town, and occupies the spot where the kraal or residence of Gaika stood, when Dr. Vanderkemp visited him in 1799, and established the first mission in Kafirland. The military post of *Fort Haare* lies close by, but is included in British Kaffraria.

*Fort Peddie*, situated nearly in the centre of South Victoria, is the residence of a magistrate. The military villages of Ely, Auckland, Juanasburg, Woburn, and Kempt, destroyed at the commencement of the war, were placed along the right bank or in the vicinity of the Chumie stream. About 6,000 Fingoes are located in the neighbourhood of Fort Peddie; and 2,000 or 3,000 friendly Kafirs, part of the tribe of the exemplary Christian chief *Kama*, reside on the Oxkraal River, on the northern face of the Kat Mountains.

The tract known as Madoor's country, and occupied by a small and semi-civilized tribe of Bushmen, is situated in North Victoria, between the Black and White Kei. Madoor, the Bushman chief, has named his principal native village *Freemantown*, in grateful acknowledgment of the endeavours made by the late Rev. J. J. Freeman to procure a mitigation of the harsh measures pursued by the local government towards him. The great error connected with the increase of boundary so far as North Victoria is concerned, appears to have been not the assumption of sovereignty over it, which might have been, and probably was the sole means of checking the growing power of the boors over the weak and scattered aborigines, but the selling the best portions, regardless of the rights of its

native proprietors, every one of whom ought to have been registered, and land legally allotted amply sufficient for their maintenance, before an inch could be honestly sold or granted as crown property. In South Victoria the case was widely different: there were no boors there; the only plea for taking possession was the obtaining of a more defensible boundary, and the manner in which the soil already occupied and cultivated by large tribes has been sold to (in many cases absentee) holders, without any reservation or provision in favour of those to whom it had descended from father to son, admits of no excuse.\*

KAFIRLAND (British and Proper) may be said to include the whole territory between the *Keiskamma* and the heads of the *Great Kei* streams on the east, and the *Umsimvubu* on the west, which divides it from Natal, being separated from the *Bechuana Country* by the lofty range of *Quathlamba Mountains*, running nearly parallel to the coast, at an average distance of about 100 miles. In Kafirland the same terrace-like formation may be traced, although perhaps not so readily as in the Cape colony. Numerous ranges of hills of minor elevation, rising by the side of the principal range, form as it were the steppes of different plateaux or plains. The principal of these plains is the immense tract lying between the Quathlamba and Matuana mountains, watered by the great western branches of the *Umsimevoo*, the *Tsitsi* and *Tena* rivers. It is a well watered and fertile country, affording good pasturage, but very cold in winter, devoid of wood, and at present almost uninhabited; nor is it likely that the Kafirs, whom we are now endeavouring to drive across the Kei, will ever willingly occupy it. Nearer the coast the country becomes better wooded, but extremely rugged and difficult of access; the numerous torrents rising in the different mountain ranges flow in deep beds, with frequent subsidiary ravines. The extent of some of these river valleys may be judged from the fact that, starting from the high ground on one bank of the *Umbashee*, it takes three or four hours to gain the opposite side. The country about the mouth of the *Umsimvoo* is particularly rugged, and towards the sea two high mountains appear nearly to close its channel, leaving however a pass known by the name of the "Gates." Large forests exist along the shore, and on the declivities of the high lands near the coast. The mountains of Kafirland may be considered as prolongations of some of the colonial ranges. Very striking and bold features are presented by the *Matuana* and *Ukalo Mountains*, near the sources of the *Umbashee* and *Umtata Rivers*, and to the eastward near the Natal frontier. Various offshoots of the Quathlamba chain give a peculiarly wild and inaccessible character to the country. The average altitude of the Quathlamba may be estimated at 8,000 feet above the sea, or 4,000 higher than the great plateau that extends to their feet. The principal rivers are the *Great Kei*, and its tributaries the *T'Somo* and *Indive*: the *Umbashee*, *Umtata*, *Umsimvoo*, and *Umsimvubu*; none of them are navigable or of much importance, although often swollen by rains into for-

\* The chief sources from which the topography of the divisions has been derived, are *Van de Sandt's Cape Almanack* for 1852, the Bishop's *Visitation Tours*, and the works of *Freeman*, *Backhouse*, and *Chase*; aided by my own recollections, and the valuable assistance of Mr. Hall, Dr. Adamson, and other gentlemen well acquainted with the Cape.



midable torrents. The region between the Kei and Keiskamma, which forms the province of BRITISH KAFFRARIA, and is divided by the Kei from Kreili's country, in its general features resembles the rest of Kafirland. The formidable and far-famed *Amatola* are a continuation of the Katberg range; they present a steep and well wooded face to the southward, full of deep and almost impregnable ravines, and to the northward a high table-land called the *Boutebok Flats*, formerly a great haunt of lions and the larger game. Sir H. Smith, when he, in December, 1847, annexed British Kaffraria to the Cape colony, divided it into the following districts:—North of the Amatola, *Northumberland* and *Sussex*; west of the Buffalo River, *York*, *Middlesex*, and *Lincoln*; east of that stream, *Cambridge* and *Bedford*; but it is not likely that these divisions will ever be recognised either in a geographical or political point of view.

*King William's Town*, situated on the left bank of the Buffalo River, about forty miles from its confluence with the sea, is the head quarters of the troops, and at the mouth of the Buffalo, the town of *East London* has been founded, as the port of the province. The latter is at present a very small place, with but few natural advantages. The holding-ground is good, but there is no shelter whatever for vessels, the shore is rugged, and the surf heavy even without wind. At *Forts Hare*, *Cox*, *White*, *Murray*, and *Pato*, military posts are established. Fort Murray is the residence of a civil commissioner for the tribes of Zlambie; Fort Cox, of the commissioner for the Gaikas. The Amatolas to the eastward merge into the *Buffalo Mountains*, and gradually diminish towards the coast, terminating near the mouth of the Kei River.

THE NORTHERN OR ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY comprises an area of about 60,000 square miles, lying between the two great branches of the Orange or Gariep River, and the Quathlamba Mountains, which separate it from Kafirland and Natal. It consists of a large plateau, gently sloping from the mountain range towards the river valleys, and, except near the *Malutis*, or *Blue Mountains*, may be described as one vast grassy plain, destitute of trees, and abounding in immense herds of game. Its future value will probably be based on its peculiar adaptation for sheep farming. The country on the eastern border is rugged in the extreme, and there is hardly a practicable pass across the mountains from *De Beer's Pass*, leading into the Natal country, to the *Wittebergen*, a distance of more than 200 miles. These mountains, which form the line dividing the great Bechuana and Kafir families, in some places attain a height of 9,000 or 10,000 feet. The *Malutis* (peaks) form a parallel chain to the Quathlamba. They enclose the rocky and unexplored upper valleys of the Orange River, and present scenery of the most grand and picturesque character. Their native name is derived from the form of many of their summits, contrasting with the tabular tops common to South African mountains. The country is tolerably well watered, and supplied with permanent springs. The principal streams, besides the two branches of the Gariep, are the *Caledon* (rising in the Maluti chain, and, after a course of about 180 miles, joining the Orange, a few miles east of Colesberg), the *Modder*, *Riet*, *Vet*, *Zand*, *Valseh*, and *Eland Rivers*. The great plains are covered with numerous basaltic hills, generally 300 or 400 feet in height. The forms of many of these are very striking, and will be found well exemplified in the graphic sketches of this part

of South Africa, made by Mr. Bain. There are no chains of any importance except that already mentioned. The average height of the sovereignty above the sea-level may be estimated at 5,000 feet. Timber is very scarce, being found only beside the watercourses. Immense herds of both the larger and smaller species of antelope range the plains; and the lion, as a matter of course, is seldom absent. The elephant and rhinoceros are no longer to be met with south of the Vaal River; hippopotami are numerous in the Vaal. In the mountains there are leopards, hyenas, the scarce roan antelope, and hartebeest. Ostriches are very common, but will, it is to be feared, be soon extirpated. The curious manis or scaly ant-eater is often met with. The smaller game, such as partridges, pheasants, guinea-fowl, &c., are in great profusion near the rivers. The districts formed by Sir Harry Smith have been already stated (see p. 107), and likewise the positive compulsion used to obtain from the Griquas, for a very inadequate price, lands of which portions sold at small quit-rents, have already realized large sums. Thus the bishop of Cape Town, writing in 1851, mentions that at Bloem Fontein, "the capital and only [British] village in the sovereignty, where the population is nearly exclusively English, £1,400 have already been paid to government for even" [building allotments.]

*Bloem Fontein*, the seat of government, is a very regular and well-built little town, containing about 200 houses, and places of worship for the Church of England, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic communities. It has a military post called the Queen's Fort, mounting six guns, guarded by two companies of infantry, and a troop of cavalry. It is situated near the upper part of the *Modder* (or mud) *River*, and has some decided disadvantages, being absolutely devoid of wood, and very scantily supplied with water. But it is centrally situated in the heart of the region of which it is the capital, is midway between Graham's Town and Port Natal, being about 400 miles distant from each point, and is assuming a good deal of importance as a sort of entrepôt for the trade carried on between the colony, the emigrant boers, and the natives of the interior. The great road from the Cape to Natal traverses the sovereignty by a very circuitous route, owing to the difficulties of the country, and enters Natal by the *De Beer Pass*, not far from the newly commenced town of *Harrismith*, situated on the *Eland River*, near the eastern edge of the *Drachenberg*, which there presents the usual steep face towards the coast. *Winburg*, on the *Lany Spruit* (water-course), and *Smithfield*, on the *Caledon River*, are each the residence of a magistrate, but otherwise of no importance. The European population, amounting probably to 10,000 or 12,000, was at first composed almost exclusively of Dutch farmers, but latterly a large infusion of English settlers has taken place. The farms generally average 6,000 acres, and at present command very high prices. But little corn is grown, sheep and cattle farming being the principal occupation of the settlers.

The climate, although warm in summer, is healthy. Owing to the elevation of the country, the cold in winter is intense, the want of sheltering groves of timber, and even of bush for fuel being severely felt; yet the vine thrives well, as also the peach, and other European fruits. Snow lies on the peaks of the *Malutis* for some months in the year. Heavy thunder storms are common. Droughts are frequent

and severe, and hot winds, blowing from the Kalihan desert, occasionally exercise a destroying influence on vegetation.

No mineral deposits have been discovered in the sovereignty, although copper is believed to exist in large quantities in the mountain ranges, and several traces of coal are said to have been observed. Agates, amethysts, blood-stones, steatite, &c., abound in the beds of the Caledon and Orange River. The aborigines occupy the hills and the country along the Orange River; the remainder is in the possession of the white man. On the west side, the sovereignty embraces a large tract of country, partly taken from the natives under various arrangements, and partly found as unoccupied territory, having been bereft of its inhabitants either by internal wars, or by the aggression of the boors.

The tribes governed by their own chiefs are distributed as follows:—the Griquas under Adam Kok, occupy country along the northern bank of the Orange River; the Bassutos under Moshesh, and the Mantatees under Sinkonyella, dwell on the slopes of the Maluti Mountains; the Barolongs under Moroko, the Batlapi under Lepui, the Corannas under Gert Taaybosch, the Bastaards under Piet Davids, and the Bataung under Molitsani, inhabit territory west of the Caledon River. Besides these, numerous hordes of wandering Bushmen, Corannas, and poor Bechuanas, are scattered over the sovereignty; the whole population, white and coloured, possibly amounting to about 120,000 souls.

The most important tribe is that of the Basutos, whose chief, the remarkable Moshesh, can, it is said, bring 10,000 men into the field. His residence is a very singular spot, being on the summit of an isolated eminence named *Thaba Bossiou*, or the "mountain of night," accessible only by five ravines, which are capable of being easily defended against a native force. The plateau at the top of the mountain is nearly a league in circumference. On it there are three separate villages. Moshesh has two tolerably well-built and handsomely furnished stone houses. The mission premises, situated in a gorge near the base of the mountain, lend a peculiar charm to the landscape. The neighbouring French Calvinistic mission-station of *Morija*, is under the superintendence of M. Arbousset. Its neat and appropriately constructed buildings, surrounded with numerous native huts of the beehive shape, are interspersed here and there with more or less successful attempts at square houses, which, but for the scarcity of wood, and the consequent difficulty of procuring suitable roofs, would be more numerous.

M. Daumas, the companion of M. Arbousset in the memorable tour which resulted in the discovery of the source of the Orange and other rivers, is established at *Makquatlin*, the native village of the chief Molitsani, and here also some Christian converts have built themselves houses after the European fashion, with nice gardens walled in and abounding in fruit trees—walnut, plum, lemon, and orange—introduced by the missionaries.

*Thaba-Unchu*, the chief place of the Barolongs, is a really well-constructed native town, containing about 2,000 round dwellings, built of clay and thatched, each environed by a low stone wall, forming a kind of court.\* The inhabitants are said to be very rich in cattle and horses, some individuals possessing as much as 1,000 head of cattle and 100 horses. The Wesleyans have a station here.

\* Bishop of Cape Town's *Journal*, 1856; p. 24.

*Phillipolis*, the capital of Adam Kok's territory, is a tolerable sized village, with a single row of neat cottages, a number of huts, and a stone chapel and school established by the London Missionary Society, whose Christian efforts on behalf of this people have been already referred to. The want of timber for building, which has to be brought a distance of 200 miles, has been a serious drawback to the improvement of the town. The people possess a large number of oxen and waggons. The territory of the other portion of the Griquas, under the Christian chief Waterboer, lies beyond the sovereignty to the westward; the country is fertile, but subject to long-continued and severe droughts. *Griqua Town* has about 400 inhabitants, and is situated at the edge of an extensive limestone plain, and at the foot of a range of low hills of silicious schistus, containing yellow asbestos. For the last few years, the town, its gardens, and adjacent grounds, have been desolated by drought, the fountain which formerly supplied it having been dried up.

Within the sovereignty, between the country occupied by the Barolongs on the west, and the Bassutos on the east, is a tract occupied by a tribe of Bastaards who still retain that name. They formerly inhabited a dry and open spot of ground in about 28° S. lat., 26° E. long., and there the Wesleyan missionaries laboured among them for twelve years. The name, *Plaatberg* (flat mountain), was descriptive of the locality; but when towards the end of 1833, the people migrated to a more fertile district, they applied to their new location the appellation of the old one, which chances to be singularly inappropriate, as the chapel and parsonage of *New Plaatberg* stand on the brow of a narrow ridge of hills, in front of which the little village stretches in one long street, bordered by numerous kitchen-gardens watered by a pretty mountain stream, and walled in by an immense bank of rocks, whose towering and deeply indented crest commands the whole plain. Besides those above referred to, the London, Wesleyan, Paris, and Berlin missions, have stations among the Corannas, Bushmen, &c.

[For a more detailed description of the people and districts comprised in the sovereignty, see the *Exploratory Tour* of Arbousset and Daumas, the Bishop of Cape Town's *Journal*, and the works of Freeman, Backhouse, Harris (*Wild Sports*), and other travellers.]

**INTERNAL COMMUNICATION.**—Since 1843, most successful efforts have been made to remove the great barrier to the rapid progress of the colony, opposed by the difficulties of transit, either for individuals or merchandise, from one town to another. The extremely rugged nature of the country seemed to set road-making at defiance; but it has, in the end, only served to heighten the triumph of skill and perseverance. The employment of convicts on the roads, in compliance with the suggestion of the able colonial-secretary, Mr. Montague, was a most judicious measure; the only wonder is, that it had not been before adopted.

A great central road now connects Cape Town with Swellendam and Fort Beaufort,



George and Mossel Bay, Uitenhage and Algoa Bay, Graham's Town and Port Frances, and the eastern frontier generally. There are several excellent bridges on this line, including three of considerable span over the *Eerste, Louren, and Bot Rivers*, in Stellenbosch Division. A hard road twenty-four miles long, has been constructed across the sandy desert known as the *Cape Flats*,\* *Montague Pass*, which crosses the Cradock Mountain, in George Division, is formed through a kloof 8,393 yards long. The former precipitous track lay 850 feet higher than the new route. The plan of this gigantic work would do honour to the genius of Telfair or Stephenson; its cost to the colony has been £36,000; the single item of gunpowder amounting to £1,753, as the solid rock had to be blasted for a distance of five-and-a-half miles. Several other important undertakings of a similar nature have been recently carried out, and new ones commenced. The *Mitchell Pass* (thus named in compliment to the late scientific surveyor-general of the colony), through the Mosterts Hoek, in Worcester Division, is now traversed by loaded waggons, when formerly, produce could only be conveyed in small quantities on horses. A fertile tract of 100,000 acres, termed the Warm Bokkeveld, which was effectually closed, has lately had its resources opened up. The distance from Cape Town to Worcester is reduced thirty-six miles by *Bain's Kloof*, which is ten miles in length; and on the line from the Karroo Poort to Cape Town, by Hottentots' Kloof, a saving of seventy-eight miles will be effected on a total of 171 miles. The produce of Somerset and Cradock, and the districts towards the Orange River, finds access to Port Elizabeth by a road over the Zuurberg Mountains, twenty-three miles long (steepest line gradient 1 in 17), constructed at a cost of about £20,000. Lines cut in the face of stupendous mountains, tunnels (one 336 feet long,) bored in decomposed clay slate, and cuttings, some,

\* In 1848 a serious discouragement met the active "Board of Commissioners," arising from an extensive drift of sand suddenly covering about three-quarters of a mile of the main road, between Cape Town and Simon's Town, to the average depth of three feet. To remedy this evil, which it seemed probable would increase rapidly, most effective means were forthwith taken, by placing two screens, one 1,056, the other 784 feet in length, and both 12 feet in height, nearly parallel, but about 484 yards asunder, to the eastward of the road, to prevent any further accumulation upon it; the sand was then cleared away, and as soon as the wet season set in, the whole of the unreclaimed space,

fifty feet deep, with ponderous breast walls and stone culverts, attest the magnitude of works by means of which a coach-and-four may be driven where recently a goat could scarcely scramble.

CLIMATE.—The seasons are very nearly opposite to those of England; December, January, and February, being summer, and June, July, and August, winter. The temperature varies with the latitude and elevation above the sea. Generally speaking, the fine and dry summer of the western province is more agreeable than that of the eastern, which is apt to be wet and stormy, but favoured with a clear and bracing atmosphere in winter; whereas that of the western is then often inclement and disagreeable. On the whole, the climate is a temperate one,—the north-west winds, which prevail in winter, losing much of their sharpness in traversing the scorched plains of the interior; and the boisterous "southeasters" cooling the hot summer air with fresh breezes from the wide expanse of the fathomless Antarctic Ocean. The highest temperature may be taken at 80°, the lowest at 50°; and the mean of the year at 67°, Fahrenheit. At Albany the mean, during the three summer months, is 72°; that of the three winter months, 60°; the maximum mean of June, 75°, and the minimum mean of February, 57°. In the mountain districts, and on the elevated plateaux of the interior, the heat of summer and the cold of winter are, of course, proportionately greater. Sudden changes of temperature are common to the whole colony, but appear to exercise little or no injurious effect on the health of the community. Hot winds occasionally blow over the interior, but rarely affect the coast districts.

Earthquakes, though not (comparatively speaking) of a dangerous character, occur occasionally; and thunder-storms are frequent and violent in the interior, towards the tropics.† The inland districts are all more or less subject to droughts; but a good comprising about 2,000 acres, planted with the Hottentot fig, so that the once arid desert, the cutting drift from which, even in traversing the road was painful, is now converted into a garden very pleasant to look upon. And here it would be wrong to pass over in silence, the consistency and earnestness with which Mr. Fairbairn, in the pages of the *Commercial Advertiser*, had, month after month and year after year, urged the importance of improving the highways of the colony, and especially of forming a hard road over the Cape Flats.

† In July, 1822, the colony was visited by a terrific and most devastating storm of wind and rain. At

deal has already been done to remedy this grievance. The following meteorological table for the Cape district, shows the climate of that locality :—

| Date.           | Barom. correct-<br>ed. | Thermometer.                |                 | Depth<br>of Rain. | Rainy<br>Days. |
|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
|                 |                        | Highest<br>temp.            | Lowest<br>temp. |                   |                |
| 1850.           | Inches.                |                             |                 | Inches.           |                |
| October . . .   | 29.984                 | 76.7                        | 47.1            | 3.435             | 8              |
| November . . .  | 30.010                 | 72.0                        | 40.0            | 1.863             | 7              |
| December . . .  | 29.965                 | 75.0                        | 54.5            | .414              | 2              |
| 1851.           |                        |                             |                 |                   |                |
| January . . .   | 29.918                 | 84.0                        | 54.0            | .259              | 4              |
| February . . .  | 29.947                 | 84.5                        | 53.0            | .036              | 1              |
| March . . .     | 29.998                 | 89.8                        | 48.0            | .153              | 2              |
| April . . .     | 30.005                 | 78.7                        | 42.0            | 1.054             | 6              |
| May . . .       | 30.033                 | 71.1                        | 40.5            | 2.920             | 12             |
| June . . .      | 30.090                 | 68.3                        | 41.5            | 6.825             | 10             |
| July . . .      | 30.148                 | 68.0                        | 40.9            | 3.851             | 11             |
| August . . .    | 30.194                 | 79.7                        | 42.3            | .594              | 5              |
| September . . . | 30.066                 | 79.0                        | 35.2            | 1.401             | 5              |
| Ann. mean       | 30.030                 | Sum for the<br>year . . . } |                 | 22.805            | 73             |

The salubrity of the Cape cannot be better illustrated than by the following comparative statement, showing the health of the troops in various parts of the empire; the annual ratio of mortality per 1,000 among them from every description of disease; the proportion attacked by pectoral complaints; and the average number of deaths resulting from these latter insidious maladies.

| Place.                   | Annal<br>ratio of<br>Mortality. | Number<br>of men<br>attacked. | Average<br>number of<br>deaths. |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Cape of Good Hope . . .  | 15                              | 98                            | 3.0                             |
| Australia . . . . .      | 11                              | 133                           | 5.8                             |
| New Zealand . . . . .    | 8½                              | 60                            | 2.7                             |
| Mauritius . . . . .      | 30                              | 84                            | 5.6                             |
| Malta . . . . .          | 18                              | 120                           | 6.0                             |
| Ionian Islands . . . . . | 28                              | 90                            | 4.8                             |
| Gibraltar . . . . .      | 22                              | 141                           | 5.3                             |
| Canada . . . . .         | 20                              | 148                           | 6.7                             |
| Bermuda . . . . .        | 30                              | 26                            | 8.7                             |
| United Kingdom . . . . . | 14                              | 148                           | 8.0                             |

Note.—The mortality among officers serving at the Cape is 1½ per cent., and in the East Indies 4½ per cent.

Tulbagh every building, public or private, was either totally destroyed or rendered uninhabitable, the bridge blown up, and the roads around made quite impassable. At Stellenbosch, 94 buildings were injured; at the Paarl, 69; at Wagonmaker's Valley (now Wellington), 40; at Hottentots' Holland, the new church and parsonage were quite destroyed; at Caledon, the public and private buildings, mill, and bath-house, were materially damaged; at Groene Kloof, the beautiful church and the gardens were ruined; at Simon's Town, the barracks gave way; and at Cape Town, there were upwards of 100 cases of damage; and eight vessels out of sixteen were wrecked

**DISEASE.**—It cannot be said that there are any disorders peculiar to the colony. Fever is of rare occurrence, but dysentery sometimes affects new comers, and severe rheumatic complaints are very prevalent. The Hottentots often die of consumption, and present occasional cases of leprosy; but the Kafirs are a peculiarly healthy race, and the colonists, both Dutch and English, are, generally speaking, singularly exempt from constitutional maladies.

**GEOLOGY.**—The peninsula of Southern Africa has evidently been formed by vast subterranean upheavings, and by the subsidence of the surrounding waters. A broken coast fringe of the oldest rocks (crystalline gneiss or clay-slate, here and there penetrated by granite, and surmounted by sandstone) surrounds the western and eastern shores. These primeval strata dip inland, and are overlaid by the most ancient fossiliferous formations. A vast central basin, now occupied by the Great Karroo, lies within the coast ridge, and at some distant period must have formed a marshy or lacustrine country. In it are found fossils, and saurian remains, together with the relics of some peculiar and gigantic quadrupeds.

During the last few years much has been done to develop the position, extent, and constituents of the fossiliferous rocks of South Africa, from the lowest up to the Triassic period, by the labours of Mr. Bain. Other geologists have likewise described small cretaceous deposits in the eastern districts of the colony, so that these regions now take rank among the most interesting geological provinces of the world. Between Graaf-Reynet and the Tropic, trap and the granitic series constitute a large portion of the structure; there are extensive limestone formations, with a distinct stratification, and abounding in caverns.

**MINERALS.**—The available deposits of coal said to have been discovered in Victoria Division and Kafirland, have been at the anchorage. The deluge of water washed away the vineyards from the hill-sides, and the corn lands were seriously injured.—(Parl. Papers, May, 1827; pp. 17, 18.) The governor, Lord Charles Somerset, proposed to Earl Bathurst the negotiation of a loan of £100,000 in England, at five per cent. interest, on the security of the land revenue, such loan to be appropriated for the repair of the damage done; H.M. government promptly acquiesced, and Lord C. Somerset was authorized to draw, upon H.M. treasury, for £125,000; £100,000 to be applied for the relief of the settlers, and £25,000 for the restoration of churches, barracks, and other public buildings.



already mentioned in the geographical account of these regions, as also the traces of the same valuable mineral met with near the junction of the Caledon and Nu Gariep River, apparently extending to Natal; ores of copper are found at the mouth and at the sources of the Gariep, and elsewhere, in or near the colony; lead has been worked near Algoa Bay, and manganese occurs in conjunction with the granite of the west. The Dutch had a strong impression that silver was obtainable, and I am, from various geological indications, inclined to entertain the same opinion.

**ZOOLOGY.**—Africa has long been famed for the unparalleled magnitude and variety of its animal kingdom. The elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lion, leopard, panther, buffalo, zebra, nilghai, gnu, wolf, hyena, jackal, baboon, and monkey; almost every species of deer and antelope, from the cameleopard or giraffe, of seventeen feet high, to the elegant blauwe bok of thirteen inches high, are, or at least were, found in the colony, until the advance of cultivation banished some, and exterminated others. The domestic animals, such as cattle, sheep, and dogs, were all possessed by the aborigines at the time of the discovery of the Cape. The tiger,\* bear, horse, and a few species, such as the kangaroo, and others peculiar to certain regions, form the exceptions to the extensive catalogue of indigenous mammalia found in South Africa. I have unfortunately no space to devote to this interesting subject, and can but point to the elaborate volumes of Dr. Andrew Smith,† where those who love to study the varieties of form and colour, of "habitat" and character, in birds, beasts, and fishes, may find an almost inexhaustible fund of delight, as well as of scientific information. Le Vaillant, Harris, the redoubtable Cumming, and other sportsmen, on a gigantic scale; beside numerous intelligent naturalists and travellers, among whom may be named Barrow, Lichtenstein, Burchell, Sparrman, Paterson, Steedman, Thompson, Moodie, and the intelligent and truthful Backhouse, have recorded much interesting detail respecting South African zoology. The introduced animals, such as the European ox, horse, mule, sheep, goats, and swine, thrive well, and multiply very quickly.

\* The animal to which the name of "tiger" was applied by the Dutch, is the true leopard, *Felis leopardus*; what they termed the leopard was the *cheta*, or hunting leopard, *Felis jubata*.

The old Cape or Barbary sheep, with hairy fleece and large fat tails, are now being rapidly supplanted by the fine woolled Merino breed. To the former description the Dutch farmers long remained attached, the much prized tails being regarded as an indispensable article in cookery. Several attempts were vainly made by the Dutch East India Company to introduce a better description; one of these efforts, though but partially successful as far as the Cape was concerned, proved an immense boon to Australia, for the Merino flock sent out as a present to colonel Gordon, the commander of the forces, was at his death in 1793, sold to some settlers touching at the Cape on their way to New South Wales, and thus fell into the hands of the enterprising John M<sup>r</sup>Arthur.—(See volume on Australia, p. 533.) The British settlers of 1820 brought with them some superior flocks, but many of these perished either from unsuitable pasturage or careless tending; and it was not until some years later that the rearing of fine woolled sheep became an important item in the industrial resources of the colony. Horses are reared in great numbers, and great pains have been taken in improving the breed, especially by the late Lord Charles Somerset. They are now of a very useful description, being capable of undergoing almost incredible fatigue; a journey of 120 miles in two consecutive days, being a common occurrence.‡ Oxen are still used by the Kafirs for riding as well as draught. The beef is good, and forms excellent sea-stock.

Among Birds, there are varieties of the ostrich, eagle, vulture, kite, pelican, flamingo, crane, ibis, owl, geese, duck, teal, snipe, bustard, partridge, turtle-dove, loxia, kingfisher, woodpecker, and several species peculiar to this portion of Africa. Proximity to the Cape, in the South Atlantic, is recognised by the abundance of albatrosses, blue petrels, and the beautiful fantailed Cape pigeon. The absence of permanent lakes render swimming birds and waders rare inland; but some of this class are singularly beautiful. Food for soft-billed birds is scarce during the prolonged dry season, and the smaller species are not generally numerous, though they collect in considerable flights in cultivated districts,

† *Illustrations of the Zoology of South Africa*, published by Smith, Elder, and Co., London, 1839.

‡ *Cape of Good Hope*, by J. C. Chase, edited by J. S. Christophers; p. 157.

where fruit is abundant. Those kinds are more common which feed on hard-shelled insects. On the whole, the African birds are remarkable rather for their handsome form and matchless brilliancy of plumage, than for sweet voices, none bearing a comparison in this respect with our homely English songsters—the nightingale, lark, or linnet. All kinds of poultry are good and plentiful at the Cape.

REPTILES, including numerous descriptions of alligators, snakes of all sizes, venomous and harmless, from the boa-constrictor, the cobra capella, and the puff-adder, downwards, exist in South Africa, as also chameleons and lizards; toads and frogs abound.

INSECTAL life is equally varied and prolific with the larger forms. Ants are very numerous; some nests have a circumference at the base of twelve feet, and are six in height. Locusts occasionally migrate in almost incredible numbers, devastating whole tracts of country by literally devouring every blade of grass. They then deposit their eggs and die, leaving their dry shelly carcases to decay, and in decaying, contribute an element of fertility to the desert they have created. Their young come forth, and either swarm off or die. This plague has latterly diminished in frequency and severity. It is a strange sort of retaliation for the mischief done by the devouring red locust, that not only the natives, but also all carnivorous animals, use it for food, as do also domestic fowls, pigs, and even horses.

FISH.—The shores of South Africa teem with life, and the great *Agulhas Bank*, which skirts, or, more properly speaking, is a submarine continuation of the south-eastern shore from Cape Town to beyond the Great Fish River, is a mine of wealth, scarcely, if at all inferior, to that of Newfoundland.

The western shores of the colony likewise abound with fish, from the larger inhabitants of the deep—whales, porpoises, and seals—to the innumerable variety of smaller species. The Cape forms the point of separation between two distinct marine zoological provinces, which are again subdivided, several sorts being peculiar to certain bays or inlets.

Of the numerous kinds available, uncured for home consumption, or salted for exportation, few are identical with those of Europe, although so far resembling them as to be called by the same names: thus there are the perch (or Roman-fish), herring,

mac'arel, sardinia, skate, sole, stockfish, crab, crayfish, prawn, and shrimp; besides many others with purely colonial names, such as the dageraad, galleon, geelbek, stompnous, steenbrass, snoek, and silver fish. The eggs of penguins and other sea-birds are brought in from the islands on this coast in great numbers. Turtle is occasionally found in the bays, and the water-tortoise, which abounds in the rivers, is edible. There are numerous varieties of shell-fish, including delicious rock-oysters, mussels, cockles, and perriwinkles.

VEGETATION.—The varied and beautiful productions of the Cape Colony have been a source of delightful investigation to botanists since the day when Linnaeus, in thanking a friend for a large number of specimens sent from thence, remarked, "You have conferred on me the greatest pleasure; but you have thrown my whole system into disorder." And to the present hour, new varieties are perpetually arising to charm and puzzle the botanist, while flowering plants of the loveliest description are still frequently added to the long list of pelargoniums, ericas, &c., which adorn the parterres and conservatories of Europe. Indigenous timber is scarce, though found in certain localities in luxuriant abundance. About fifty kinds are available for agricultural and domestic purposes. The native trees have, however, been almost wholly neglected, either because they have been found difficult to rear, or on account of the slow growth of the more useful kinds. The oak, stone-pine, and azederach—all three foreign—are planted throughout the colony, and the Australian gum-trees and casuarinas are spreading everywhere. An immense variety of the fruits and vegetables of different countries, from the strawberry and cherry to the melon and jambos or love-apple, have been acclimated in various parts of the Cape of Good Hope.

There would appear to be several distinct botanical districts in the colony. In the western province, *ericas*, *proteas*, *pelargoniums*, *diomeas*, *polygalas*, *cheronias*, *rogenas*, *stapelias*, *mesembryanthemum*, *cacti*, *indigofera*, and *acaciae*, are found in great luxuriance. In the eastern districts of the colony, the *euphorbia*, *coralodendron*, *laurus*, *podocarpus*, *aloe*, *zamia*, *jessamine*, *brionia*, *erythrina*, and *strelitzia*, prevail. The cerealia all thrive; and large crops of maize and millet are produced, even by the imperfect agriculture of the natives.



## CHAPTER III.

POPULATION—GOVERNMENT, MILITARY DEFENCE, LAWS—REVENUE, TARIFF, EXPENDITURE, MONIES, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, BANKS—COMMERCE, IMPORTS, EXPORTS, SHIPPING—LIVE STOCK, CULTIVATION, PRODUCE, LAND APPROPRIATED AND COMPARATIVE VALUE IN EACH DIVISION—WAGES OF LABOUR—RELIGION, MISSIONS, EDUCATION, PRESS, CRIME—GENERAL VIEW AND PROSPECTS OF THE COLONY.

WHEN the Cape was first visited by Europeans, the neighbouring country was apparently thickly peopled by the various tribes of a race whose generic name was Quæquæ, but to whom the Dutch applied that of Hottentots. The gradual subjugation of this people has been set forth in preceding pages. Of their numbers at any period there is no trustworthy record; it is only certain that they rapidly diminished after the establishment of European intercourse, and are still on the decrease. Intermarriage with the Malay, negro, and other slaves introduced by the Dutch, has contributed greatly to thin the ranks of pure

Hottentots; while, as we have seen, a more disgraceful intercourse has mingled their blood with that of the European, degrading both, and producing a race of mulattoes, who, under providence, were by the devoted exertions of the missionaries Anderson, Melville, and others who have followed in their steps, alone prevented from becoming the pests, as they were already the outcasts of society.

The following is a return of the white and coloured inhabitants, in the several districts of the eastern and western divisions, and also of British Kaffraria, taken from the census of May, 1849:—

| Divisions.                              | Estimated area in square miles. | Whites. |         | Coloured. |         | Total.  |         | Total, Male and Female. | Total.  |         |
|---|---------------------------------|---------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|-------------------------|---------|---------|
|   |                                 | Male.   | Female. | Male.     | Female. | Male.   | Female. |                         | Births. | Deaths. |
| Cape Town <sup>1</sup> . . .            | 9½                              | —       | —       | —         | —       | 11,517  | 12,232  | 23,749                  | —       | —       |
| Cape Division . . .                     | 5,864                           | 1,803   | 1,795   | 2,885     | 2,315   | 4,688   | 4,110   | 8,798                   | 445     | 164     |
| Malmesbury . . .                        |                                 | 2,175   | 1,770   | 2,508     | 2,067   | 4,683   | 3,837   | 8,520                   | 446     | 233     |
| Stellenbosch . . .                      |                                 | 1,000   | 950     | 1,600     | 1,400   | 2,600   | 2,350   | 4,950                   | 350     | 100     |
| Paarl . . . . .                         |                                 | 1,871   | 1,787   | 2,813     | 2,504   | 4,684   | 4,291   | 8,975                   | 398     | 198     |
| Worcester . . . .                       | 20,000                          | 2,299   | 2,278   | 2,471     | 2,303   | 4,770   | 4,581   | 9,351                   | 372     | 133     |
| Clanwilliam . . .                       | 22,111                          | 1,510   | 1,468   | 3,193     | 3,228   | 4,703   | 4,696   | 9,399                   | 498     | 192     |
| Swellendam . . .                        | 7,616                           | 3,540   | 3,302   | 2,649     | 2,631   | 6,189   | 5,933   | 12,122                  | 605     | 158     |
| Caledon . . . . .                       |                                 | 1,526   | 1,267   | 1,929     | 1,826   | 3,455   | 3,103   | 6,558                   | 202     | 168     |
| George . . . . .                        | 4,032                           | 4,048   | 3,916   | 3,819     | 3,550   | 7,867   | 7,466   | 15,333                  | 692     | 166     |
| Beaufort . . . . .                      | 13,050                          | 1,952   | 1,761   | 1,696     | 1,722   | 3,648   | 3,483   | 7,131                   | 337     | 139     |
| Total Western Province } . . .          | 72,682½                         | 21,724  | 20,294  | 25,563    | 23,546  | 58,804  | 56,082  | 114,886                 | 4,345   | 1,651   |
| Uitenhage . . . .                       | 8,960                           | 1,962   | 1,703   | 1,955     | 1,857   | 3,917   | 3,560   | 7,477                   | 403     | 172     |
| Port Elizabeth . .                      |                                 | 1,596   | 1,293   | 694       | 663     | 2,290   | 1,956   | 4,246                   | 232     | 101     |
| Albany . . . . .                        | 1,792                           | 2,467   | 2,347   | 1,602     | 1,621   | 4,069   | 3,968   | 8,037                   | 584     | 54      |
| Port Beaufort . . .                     |                                 | 992     | 935     | 1,646     | 1,397   | 2,638   | 2,332   | 4,970                   | 350     | 102     |
| Somerset . . . . .                      | 4,000                           | 1,720   | 1,621   | 1,532     | 1,218   | 3,252   | 2,839   | 6,091                   | 404     | 109     |
| Cradock . . . . .                       | 3,168                           | 1,787   | 1,757   | 1,534     | 1,419   | 3,321   | 3,170   | 6,491                   | 236     | 112     |
| Graaf Reynet . . .                      | 8,000                           | 2,397   | 2,401   | 1,906     | 1,890   | 4,303   | 4,291   | 8,594                   | 439     | 189     |
| Colesberg . . . . .                     | 11,654                          | 1,916   | 1,848   | 1,528     | 1,473   | 3,444   | 3,321   | 6,765                   | 532     | 120     |
| Albert . . . . .                        | 8,000                           | 2,348   | 2,170   | 2,029     | 1,700   | 4,377   | 3,870   | 8,247                   | 261     | 68      |
| Victoria . . . . .                      | —                               | 431     | 281     | 19,306    | 22,009  | 19,737  | 22,380  | 42,117                  | 2,158   | 548     |
| British Kaffraria . .                   | —                               | 500     | —       | 30,957    | 35,901  | 31,457  | 35,901  | 67,358                  | —       | —       |
| Total Eastern Province } . . .          | 45,574                          | 18,116  | 16,356  | 64,689    | 71,148  | 82,805  | 87,588  | 170,393                 | 5,590   | 1,605   |
| GRAND TOTAL <sup>2</sup> } Estimated at | 118,256½                        | 39,840  | 36,650  | 90,252    | 94,694  | 141,609 | 143,670 | 285,279                 | 9,935   | 3,256   |

Note.—<sup>1</sup> In the return furnished by the municipality no distinction has been made between the white and coloured population of Cape Town.—<sup>2</sup> Excluding Victoria and British Kaffraria, of which the area is not stated, there are 175,804 mouths on 118,256 square miles, or about 420 acres to each individual. The majority of the above returns must be regarded as merely approximative. Very little reliance can be placed upon the statements of births and deaths.

The community by which the aborigines were supplanted, increased at first but slowly (see pp. 13, 18), and in 1773 comprised less than 24,000 souls. Its gradual augmentation (exclusive of troops and the native

heathen inhabitants), from the date of British permanent occupation, may be traced in the following table, which likewise illustrates the numbers of the slaves, from the same period up to that of their emancipation :—

| Years. | Christians. |          | Free Blacks. |         | Negro Apprentices. |         | Slaves. |          | Total.  |
|--------|-------------|----------|--------------|---------|--------------------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
|        | Males.      | Females. | Males.       | Females | Males.             | Females | Males.  | Females. |         |
| 1807   | 13,624      | 11,990   | 529          | 605     | —                  | —       | 18,990  | 10,313   | 56,051  |
| 1810   | 16,546      | 14,648   | —            | —       | —                  | —       | 18,873  | 10,521   | 60,588  |
| 1813   | 17,714      | 14,154   | —            | —       | —                  | —       | 19,238  | 11,081   | 62,187  |
| 1817   | 20,750      | 18,884   | 918          | 958     | 411                | 132     | 19,481  | 12,565   | 74,099  |
| 1820   | 22,592      | 20,505   | 905          | 1,027   | 1,061              | 492     | 19,081  | 12,968   | 78,631  |
| 1823   | 25,487      | 23,212   | 891          | 1,098   | 1,118              | 652     | 19,786  | 13,412   | 85,656  |
| 1833   | 50,881      | 45,210   | —            | —       | 19,409             | —       | 19,378  | 14,244   | 129,713 |
| 1836   | 57,518      | 56,436   | —            | —       | —                  | 16,687  | —       | —        | 150,110 |
| 1849   | —           | —        | —            | —       | —                  | —       | —       | —        | —       |

*Note.*—Total population, including Hottentots, Negroes, Kafirs, and Fingoes, 285,279. Under the denomination of Christians there are free coloured people as well as whites.—In the year 1833 there were alleged to be about 15,336 male, and 15,213 female Hottentots, within the colonial boundary.

The motley population of the Cape includes English, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, Germans, Danes, French, and other Europeans; Hottentots, Kafirs, Fingoes, natives of Mozambique and different parts of Africa, Malays, Chinese, &c., together with the offspring of intermarriages among the various colonists, and between the coloured races.

The British and their descendants possess the usual characteristics of their nation, leavened by a "colonialism" which it is easier to perceive than to describe. The Dutch and Germans are of a large and powerful build, often indolent and impassive, unless roused by strong excitement, and then energetic and determined. Their respect for the ordinances of religion is invariable, as is their hospitality. When educated they evince considerable, and in some instances, even extraordinary talent; but the less informed class are extremely prejudiced, and easily misled. They seem better adapted for pastoral than agricultural pursuits, and now that they have at length been induced to direct their attention to the rearing of fine-woolled sheep, will probably become very wealthy.

The French, who came hither on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, settled down on the *Brede* (broad) *River*, in what is now the Worcester Division, near a spot still known as the *French Hoek*, or *Corner*, and engaged in the cultivation of the vine. But their numbers being very small, they soon, in consequence of deaths and intercolonial marriages, ceased to form a distinct section.

The Hottentots are like the Chinese in

their habits, as well as in their complexion and cast of features; they delight in cultivating small plots of ground, and in tending cattle and sheep. When treated justly and kindly, and encouraged by judicious measures, they have proved active, brave, and worthy of the fullest confidence. Their number is not given in any authentic document, but the whole coloured population, exclusive of Kafirs and Fingoes, but inclusive of Negroes, Malays, Chinese, &c., is loosely estimated at between 80,000 and 90,000.

The Fingoes resemble the Kafirs in appearance, and in the love of cattle, but are decidedly inferior in manliness of deportment and of character. Since their naturalization as British subjects, they have learned the value of money and other property, and diligently labour for its acquisition and increase. Their number is supposed to be about 25,000.

The portion of the Kafirs over whom the British, at the conclusion of the war of 1846, claimed sovereignty, by right of conquest, occupied (before the present outbreak, 1852), the country between the Keiskamma and the Kei Rivers, and comprised the Gaika tribes under the young chief Sandilli, and his uncles Macomo, Botman, &c.; the T'Slam-bies or Zlam-bies, under Umhala, Toise, Siwani, and Jan Tzatzoe; and the Amagounubies under Pato and Cobus Congo. These belong to the great Amakose family, of which Kreili is the senior chief. There are, beside, the Tambookies under Mapassa, Umgeka, &c., who inhabit country along the Kei River.

The population located in the Zlambic



and Gaika districts of British Kaffraria, in December, 1848, was estimated by Lieutenant-colonel Mackinnon as follows:—"In the Gaika district, under Sandilli, 14,915; Tebe (?), 4,867; Macomo, 2,066; Botman, 1,455; Tola, 1,487; Sonto, 672; Tzatzoe, 1,717;—total, 27,179. In the Zlambie district, under Umhala, 10,018; Pato and Cobus, 8,527; Toise, 7,481; Siwani, 2,773; Stock, 3,312; Seyolo, 2,161; Tabai (?), 877;—total, 35,179. Grand total, 62,358." Mr. Brownlee, the assistant Gaika commissioner, calculated that about 20,000 to 25,000 of the Gaikas were then absent in consequence of the scarcity of food, large tracts having been overrun by the troops during the war of 1847, at the period of the sowing season.\*

Eastward of the Kei River, the country is inhabited by the *Amagaleke*, a large branch of the Amakosæ, under Kreili, Bookoo, &c., who dwell between the Kei and the Umtata Rivers. The *Amatembu*, under Fadana, Tooi, and other petty chiefs, live in the neighbourhood of the sources of the Bashee and Umtata Rivers. The *Amaponda*, under Faku, occupy the country between the Umtata and Umsimenu and the Amambaxa; various minor clans under petty chiefs reside in the territory beyond that of the Amaponda, on the Natal frontier.

Dr. Andrew Smith, in 1830, estimated the people of the following chiefs thus:—Gaika, 45,000; Zlambie, 35,000; Eno, Congo, and Botman, together about 20,000; Hintza, 40,000; Tambookies, 40,000; Um-yeke, 15,000; Quanda, Depa, and minor tribes, 15,000; Faku, 45,000; Kapai, 15,000; various scattered tribes, 10,000—making altogether, 280,000. Bassutos, 15,000; Mantatees, 10,000; Thaba Unehu tribe, 10,000; and the Lepui tribe 10,000. The proportion of fighting men, who could be spared from guarding the cattle, he calculated at one in six.†

At the close of the war of 1836, the total number of the aforesaid tribes was stated by Mr. Godlonton, the editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*, at 395,000.

The late Rev. J. J. Freeman thus estimates the amount of the tribes between the colony and Natal, exclusive of a "very numerous population," by which the country 300 miles east of Lake Ngami is occupied:—Amakosæ and Tambookies, 250,000; Amapondas and other tribes to Natal, 150,000; Zoolus and others in Natal,

100,000; independent Zoolus, at least, 500,000; Beehuanas, Mantatees, Basutos, and other tribes between Lattakoo and Natal, 300,000; the Matabele and other tribes, from the Zoolus to the lake tribes, 500,000; to these "conjectural calculations," he adds, 200,000 for other tribes east and west, making up, in all, "two million of the Kafir race now well known to us."‡

The Kafir character has been previously noticed (see p. 115). In symmetry and strength of limb, in manly bearing, martial spirit, and stoical endurance of suffering, perhaps no people in the world, savage or civilized, have ever surpassed them. The cast of their features is rather Asiatic than African; the nose is frequently aquiline, and the forehead lofty. The following remarks, contained in a letter recently addressed to me by the Rev. Robert Niven, who, with his family, resided many years in the heart of Kafirland, affords a graphic and concise view of the condition and habits of this people, and also, it seems to me, a triumphant refutation of the alleged impracticability of converting them by just measures into valuable friends, instead of dangerous and harassing foes, one of which they must be for at least some years, since the work of extermination can evidently be but a slow process.

Adverting to the harsh opinions promulgated respecting the Kafirs, that they are so stereotyped in paganism, so devoted to heathen practices, and so strongly bound by their attachment to their ancient feudal system, as to be hopelessly impervious to the influences of christian civilization, Mr. Niven writes:—

"What are the Kafirs then? Infidels! as their name imports. So the Mahomedan Arabs would have it, who gave the race this epithet of reproach for their resolution in declining the faith and practice of the Koran. There is character indicated by this very fact—that they, a race of African shepherds, should have advanced from north to south, with step firm and slow, along apparently two-thirds of the eastern side of the continent; predominate by conquest, and, at times, by paction and purchase, on the Hottentot soil, east of the Gamtoos; and only be arrested in their march to the Cape of Good Hope by a formidable European colony, reminds one of the shepherd kings of Asia, whose history became European. And although their martial bearing has not given law to the British, the fact that a people who never brought more than 6,000 warriors into the field, armed chiefly with spears, should in thirty years stand up in six wars against a civilized government with increasing deadly effect, disconcert able generals, involve the recall of three out of four successive governors, within a period of eighteen years; and in the

\* Parl. Papers, 1849; p. 37-8. † *Idem*, 1851; p. 275.

‡ *A Tour in South Africa*, London, 1852; pp. 198-9.

present campaign, one leader alone, at the head of 1,000 or 1,500 men, resist successfully an army three times that number,—the fact that the insurgent chief, Sandilli, with scanty precarious resources, and some 4,000 or 5,000 undisciplined barbarians, should be able for eighteen months to perplex double that number of troops, and when he sued for peace, should have still the confidence, ill-judged and impolitic I think, to refuse the promise of life, without soil or cattle, and, with his followers, prefer 'to die on their fathers' graves,' surely indicates a race of no common stamp. A firm believer in the unlawfulness of war by avowed Christians, cannot, in justice, withhold approbation from Kafir belligerents at least, when they retain sufficient international virtue to respect the truces dictated by our commanders, and display an assumed characteristic of civilization—humanity in war—for which they are not indebted to their superiors in knowledge and arms. They were not the first to mutilate the remains of the fallen warrior, and reduce to ashes the deserted homestead. They have not followed our example, of thirty years' standing, in destroying harvested grain and growing crops; and while we have negligently shot women and children, they have systematically, and in every instance save one of accident, saved these unoffending victims of war. At Woburn, on the second day after the outbreak, the Kafir besiegers began by collecting the women and children, whom they ordered away to the Chumie station for protection. In the afternoon of the same day, at Auckland, where they are said to have surprised ten of the military settlers, they stopped the siege on the fortified barrack, whither the inhabitants had repaired, to separate the women and children, whom they took out of the building, through an aperture at the top of the wall, and directed them away down to the same mission station, where their wants were supplied, and whence they were safely escorted to the nearest garrison. A fine opportunity occurred at Waterkloof, in the last assault made on that natural stronghold by Sir Harry Smith, to show how a British commander can requite such generous martial bearing in a rude pagan enemy. Macomo had retired before our advance, and left a body of Tambookies, headed by Qwesha, at the camp, called by the ex-governor, Macomo's Den, where the women and children were collected. An indiscriminate fire was opened on the inmates of this natural rendezvous, and did appalling execution on the helpless sex and their offspring, which shocked the bravest men in our ranks, and stained indelibly our humanities in the eyes of our more scrupulous and chivalrous foe.

"A nearer insight into the native character will not be found inconsistent with these exponents in the field. After the most careful scrutiny, on an extended view of fourteen years' intercourse, the most intimate possible for an European, the Kafir claims to be regarded as a person of frank and affable manners; he is unassuming, yet self-possessed; and retains a respectful unembarrassed demeanour even in the presence of pomp and state. Cool, collected, and cautious in conversation, especially with strangers, he dexterously answers questions which may commit him, by asking others of similar compass. He is penetrating and acute in his observations on others, yet tractable and confiding when his honour is trusted, and is neither vindictive nor malicious in the popular sense. Capable of restraining his feelings until a fitting occasion, he is equally successful in the manly concealment of the keenest bodily suffering; pursues resolutely his object, and only relapses into inaction

when it is achieved. A model of hospitality, but no less decidedly covetous, he yet is grateful for favours, however slow to evince his gratitude by acts of self-denial. Frugal in the use of his slender means, he is equally concerned for the steady increase of his property; and to get and keep cattle, which is the standard wealth of his race, he lets out the baser elements of his character—those moral stains of our tainted humanity, such as dishonesty, cunning, deceit, and falsehood. This latter trait has often reminded the writer of the test a friend once gave him of the men of his own county:—'You will never know a Yorkshireman,' said he, 'until you buy a horse of him;' nor, it may be added, a Kafir before you have dealings with him in cows, which need not be of rare occurrence, as contracts for service are usually paid in cattle. The native credulity in rain-makers, and the magician tribe generally, is quite reconcilable with a quick perception of professional imposture. Tyalie, a firm believer in 'doctors,' witnessed an European conjuror bear to be shot at, with what seemed a loaded gun; 'let me have one shot at him with my long rifle,' said the chief, coolly, 'and he will not stand another.'

"The social character of the Kafir race, is just that of the individual generalized. 'They are not mere wanderers,' to adopt the language applied to a different Ethiopian race, 'over an extended surface, in search of a precarious subsistence; nor tribes of hunters, or of herdsmen [merely], but a people among whom the arts of government have made some progress, who have established, by their own customs, a division and appropriation of the soil; who are not without some measure of agricultural skill, and a certain subordination of ranks and usages, having the character and authority of law.' Their government is feudal. Chiefs claim authority on the principle of the divine right of kings, and hold an absolute property in their vassals. Every kraal, or hamlet, has its head; every glen, or river, its representative; every clan its chief; and the separate clans their paramount lord. Pato, a chief of 10,000 people, said to his Excellency Sir H. Smith, at an aggregate meeting, held in January, 1848, immediately after the assembled chiefs had gone through the ceremony of swearing subjection to our queen, 'wherever the great chief (Sandilli, he afterwards explained) churns his milk, there will the little chiefs be to eat the butter.'

"The Kafirs have their local forms of justice and superior courts of appeal, and persons to fulfil the duties of judges, lawyers, and advocates, and several orders of the healing art—who are paid, the one when he brings off his client, the other when he restores his patient. Bad success, either in law or physic, is delicately marked by a trifling acknowledgment. The farm, managed by women chiefly, and the dairy, by men, with the results of the chase, supply the standard means of subsistence. They are a domestic people, fond of their wives and children, and, like all feudalists, despots at home, with many softening deductions, which do honour to their affections. Polygamy is prevalent, and purchase of wives, but neither is compulsory in the legal sense. Rain-makers, in a country subject to periodical droughts, and magicians, assume the place of darkened nature's priesthood, and minister to the antecedent belief in a supernatural power pervading all things, and affecting for weal or woe all their race. It is the notion simply of a diffused divinity, a sentiment derived from a vague perception of Providence, which the Kafirs never gathered up into the abstract idea, which we



represent by the collective term—God. Their repugnance to the touch of a dead body, and partial ablution after burial of it; observance of sacrifice to avert calamity, and meat-offerings in seasons of plenty; stations for prayer and thanksgiving, connected with critical enterprises; and the prevalence of the rite of circumcision at the age of puberty, accompanied by formalities emblematic of a moral transition in the subject of it, are notable religious facts, however unmeaningly perpetuated, which proclaim the ancestral antiquity of the Kafirs, and a remote connexion with the descendants of Ishmael, if not with the seed of Abraham in North Africa, where the Gallas and Somaulis, a portion of the parent stem, perhaps, of the same race, are found at the present day.”

The total population of the “sovereignty” is estimated at 120,000, of whom about 12,000 are whites. In the territory of the emigrant boors beyond the Vaal, the settlers are stated to be from 10,000 to 15,000. But of the numbers of the coloured races comprised within its limits, I have been unable to obtain an estimate.

The Namaquas, a people of Hottentot origin, inhabit the west coast from the Orange River mouth towards Walvisch Bay. So late as 1820, they were scantily clad in skins, lived in rude huts of boughs and mats, and had some cattle, on whose milk, together with the flesh of wild animals killed by pitfalls or poisoned arrows, and the gum of trees, seeds, and roots, they managed to support life. Through the efforts of missionary societies, their temporal as well as spiritual condition has been materially improved, and most of them are now partially, at least, provided with European clothing. Although still a nomadic people, some have begun to cultivate the ground, others possess ox-waggons, and many have firearms.\*

The Damaras, dwelling further to the northward, are a striking race; tall, upright, models for sculptors: facial angle about 70°, fine manly open countenances, and often beautifully chiselled features; their whole appearance highly imposing. Of the number of the Namaquas and Damaras, or of the other native races contiguous to the frontiers, we have no statistical information.

GOVERNMENT. — During the period of Dutch rule, the civil administration was conducted by a governor and council appointed by the directors of the Dutch East India Company at Amsterdam. The colony was divided into drostries or districts, each having a Landdrost or civil magistrate, with an Heemraden or council. On our conquest in 1795, a military governor was placed

\* *Cape Town Mail*, 23rd August, 1851.

at the head of affairs. After the restoration of the colony to Holland, the states-general proposed to establish a representative assembly, chosen by the people. Before this plan could be carried into effect, the Cape again came beneath the sway of England, and from 1806 to 1836, the chief authority was vested in governors sent from England, who were almost invariably military men. In 1837–8, a legislative council was formed, composed of the leading executive officers of the colony, and five unofficial members. This arrangement lasted until the anti-convict dissensions in 1849 unsettled everything. The colonists then “agitated” for a representative assembly and a constitution. This has been granted upon the basis of *two elective* chambers, with a high property qualification for the members of the upper house. The details have been left to the settlement of the colonists themselves, and are now in course of adjustment; the chief difficulty consisting in determining the franchise, one party desiring it to consist of a property valued at £50 per annum, their opponents of one valued at £25 per annum. The friends of the coloured race are strongly in favour of the latter, in order that the Hottentots and others may possess an interest in the government under which they live.

LAWS. — The “statutes of India,” collected by the Dutch government towards the end of the seventeenth century, were applied to the Cape in 1715. The civil law has been modified by various colonial ordinances, or, where these have been found deficient, by the *corpus juris civilis*. Since our occupation, the severity of the Dutch criminal code has been greatly mitigated, and torture abolished. Criminals are tried by a jury of at least seven persons; and, where the offence is capital, a majority must agree in the verdict.

The tenure of land differs. The most ancient system is that on which *loan farms* are held, where the lease is perpetual so long as the stipulated rent is paid. *Gratuity lands* are customary copyholds, for which about the same price is paid as for “loan farms.” Quit rents are demanded for the use of waste lands lying contiguous to an estate. Freeholds are now becoming general, especially in the eastern districts. Transfers or mortgages (except in the case of the bond called *schepen*) are legal only when registered in the debt-book at the colonial office, Cape Town, where commis-

sioners sit to superintend such matters. No sale or transfer can be made till after a settlement of all bonds, either by the mortgagee consenting to continue his loan on the securities of the new purchaser, or by repayment; a fresh transfer is then made, and the purchaser is placed in possession of a complete title, without the possibility of fraud, of claims withheld, or mortgages concealed, at an expense of a couple of sheets of paper, and a trifling payment—thus avoiding a ponderous mass of conveying.

There is usually an equal division of property among children on the demise of a parent. The Dutch language and forms are now superseded in the courts of law by those employed by the English at Westminster.

A supreme court at Cape Town holds yearly four civil and three criminal sessions, and is presided over by a chief and two puisne judges. Twice a year a judge of this court makes a circuit for civil and criminal business through the principal towns of each division. There is a high-sheriff for the colony, and deputy-sheriffs for each district.

The civil commissioner in each district is a resident magistrate, as also a financial officer; he is aided by a stipendiary magistrate, who holds frequent courts for the administration of criminal justice in petty matters, and for the recovery of small debts; the commissioner holds a matrimonial court for the settlement of conjugal differences, and the granting of marriage licences.

A court of vice-admiralty sits for the trial of offences committed on the high seas, and for the adjudication of maritime disputes. The commissioners appointed by letters patent under the great seal, dated 13th March, 1832, are the governor, or lieutenant-governor, members of council, the chief and puisne judges, the commander-in-chief and flag-officers of ships of war, and also the captains and commanders of ships of war.

The attorney-general, *ratione officii*, is the public accuser and prosecutor, and all suits in the court of justice, on the part of the government, are conducted by him.

The *Bar* is not numerous; several solicitors, as in Canada, practise as barristers: litigation is expensive on account of the numerous forms, and heavy stamp-duties. There is an insolvent and bankruptcy law in

force. By statutes 6 & 7 William IV., the authority of the British government in South Africa was extended for the maintenance of justice and the punishment of crime to all places without the colony as far as the 25° of south lat., “for the protection of native subjects of that country, as well as of H.M. subjects residing there.” The mode in which the local affairs of the Orange River sovereignty is administered has been previously described.

The Trans-Vaal boors have established a republic in the *Grensgebied*, and their independence has been formally recognised by the British government. On the 16th of January, 1852, a conference was held at the *Zand River*, between H.M. Assistant-commissioners, Messrs. Hogge and Owen, for settling the affairs connected with the east and north-east boundaries of the Cape Colony; and Commandant-general Pretorius, Landdrost Lombard, Commandant-general Joubert, Commandant Kruger, and twelve other leaders of the boors. At this meeting the British government guaranteed in the fullest manner to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River, the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves, without any interference on the part of the Queen's government, by whom no encroachment should be made on the territory north of the Vaal River, and no alliances contracted with any of the coloured natives north of the said river. Slavery is not to be permitted or practised in the Trans-Vaal territories. Mutual facility to be afforded to traders on both sides. Ammunition-trade with the native tribes prohibited; the boors to purchase their ammunition in any of the British colonies or possessions in South Africa; certificates by a British magistrate to accompany all ammunition and fire-arms coming from the south side of the Vaal, and the waggons containing the same to be, under the jurisdiction of the emigrant farmers, admitted by permission of their nearest frontier magistrate. Criminals and other guilty parties flying from justice on either side, to be mutually given up, if required. Courts of law on both sides to be open for all legitimate processes, and attendance of witnesses to be compelled. Certificates of marriage among the boors to be held valid in the colony. All persons but criminals or debtors to be allowed to sell their property and remove from the British colony to the Trans Vaal territory, and *vice versa*. This convention



was signed by both parties, and duly ratified the 13th of May, 1852, by Governor Cathcart, who expressed a hope that "the freedom which the emigrants are thus permitted to assume, may result in lasting peace among themselves, and in fast friendship with the British government, neither entertaining past prejudices, nor adopting former causes of quarrel." The governor further assured them of his desire to contribute to their welfare, if in his power, by promoting religion and education amongst them.

**MILITARY DEFENCE.**—The disturbed state of the frontier has always been considered to necessitate the maintenance of a considerable force at the Cape, even during times of comparative tranquillity. Thus, in 1831, there were three regiments of infantry, detachments of artillery and engineers, and a very efficient corps of about 400 Cape mounted riflemen, composed principally of Hottentots. The military stations on the Kafir frontier were eight in number, and garrisoned by 474 men, while 366 were stationed at Graham's Town. Now (1852), upwards of 10,000 regular troops, including dragoons, lancers, artillery, engineers, rifles, and infantry of the line, are employed there in harassing and unsatisfactory war. Simon's Bay is our naval station for this part of the globe; it is under the command of a rear-admiral or commodore, whose authority extends along the east coast of Africa, and to Mauritius and St. Helena.

**FINANCES.**—The revenue of the Cape is fully adequate to its civil expenditure. Its increase, since 1795, is thus shewn:—1795, £22,252; 1828, £128,971; 1835, £133,417; 1848, £234,375; 1849, £237,805; 1850, £245,785. Within the last two years the revenue has been augmented by land sales, especially of the neutral territory, or Victoria Division. In 1849, the land fund yielded £8,880; in 1850, £16,575; these sums being chiefly obtained from the sale of country seized from the Kafirs.

The amount derived from the principal taxes in 1850, was, customs, £102,273; transfer dues, £24,928; land revenues, viz. quit-rents, £22,267; stamps and licences, £20,086; auction dues, £17,079; postage, £11,541; incidental receipts, £20,284. There are other items of minor amount.

**GUANO.**—A considerable but temporary accession to the local revenues, accrued from the granting of licences for the collection of a concentrated manure

called guano, from several rocky islets of the coast. In three months of the year 1845 nearly £29,000 were realized for licences granted at the rate of twenty shillings per ton, the selling price in Great Britain being from £10 to £15, and even £20 per ton. So great was the desire, both in Europe and in America, for this fertilizing agent, that in 1845-6, between 300 and 400 vessels might have been seen at anchor round the Ichaboe islet, near the mouth of the Orange River, loading or waiting to load; while some, in despair at the long period that must elapse before their turn could arrive, returned empty as they came. From Ichaboe alone 200,000 tons are supposed to have been obtained, the rock being, in a few months, scraped as clean as a well-kept pavement. The bird named the gannet, from which the African guano is chiefly derived, is about the size of the common domestic goose. Its exuvie, reduced by time to a fossil state, and found in hardened strata like shells in limestone rocks, consists of urate, phosphate, oxalate, and carbonate of ammonia, with a few earthy salts. Whether the effects of this powerful stimulant of the soil be wholly beneficial, time and experience alone can prove; but suspicions are entertained of its having increased the disease called rust in corn; and it is a singular fact that its introduction into Europe was contemporary with the commencement of that fearful, and it would appear, permanent plague, the potatoe blight.

**TARIFF.**—Free warehousing ports:—Cape Town (Table Bay), Simon's Town, Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), and Port Natal. Sub-collectors are stationed at Port Beaufort, Mossel Bay, and East London (Buffalo Mouth), for the purpose of entering or clearing all vessels arriving from, and departing for the United Kingdom, or any of H.M. possessions abroad. *Import Duties.*—British goods, inclusive of British possessions abroad, 5 per cent., *ad valorem*; foreign goods, 12; by order of H.M. in council of 24th April, 1847. *Rated Articles.*—British coffee, 5s. per cwt.; foreign, 10s.; foreign fish, of all sorts, 12 per cent. *ad val.*; foreign wheaten flour, 3s. per barrel of 196 lbs.; gunpowder, 3d. per lb.; British meat, 1s. 3d. per cwt.; foreign, 3s.; foreign oil, £3 per 252 gals. imp. measure; sperm, £7 10s.; pepper, 4s. per cwt.; rice, 1s. 6d.; sugar, (not refined, British possessions,) 2s. 3d.; foreign, 4s. 6d.; British, refined or candy, 3s.; foreign, refined or candy, 6s.; spirits, of all sorts, not exceeding the strength of proof by Sykes' hydrometer, and so in proportion for any greater strength, 2s. per imp. gal. (By H.M. order in council, dated 31st October, 1848, *one gallon* of spirits is allowed to be imported *duty free* for every ten gallons of Cape wine exported, or deposited in the bonded warehouse for exportation.) Tea, 4½d. per lb.; tobacco, unmanufactured, 12s. per cwt.; manufactured, 20s.; cigars, 5s. per 1,000; wine, bottled, 6 to the gallon, 4s. per dozen; ditto, 12 to ditto, 2s.; in wood, 1s. 6d. per imp. (Except at Port Natal, where the duties are the same as above upon foreign, but only *one-half* upon wine from British possessions.) Unmanufactured mahogany, rosewood, and teakwood, 3d. per cubic foot; all other foreign, 2d. Foreign articles, re-exported from the United Kingdom, without any drawback of duty, are admitted upon the same terms as British goods, viz., 5 per cent. *ad val.*; foreign goods, imported from bonded warehouses of the United Kingdom, or, upon which the duties there paid have been drawn back, are charged the duty upon British goods, with three-fourths of the difference (if any) between such duty

and that charged upon foreign goods added thereto; being equivalent upon manufactures, to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *ad val.* *Free.*—Bottles, of common glass, imported full; bullion; casks, staves, hoops, and coopers' rivets; coin; diamonds; horses, mules, asses, sheep, cattle, and all other live stock and live animals; seeds, bulbs, and plants and specimens illustrative of natural history. *Prohibitions and Restrictions.*—Gunpowder, arms, ammunition, or utensils of war, are prohibited to be imported, except from Great Britain, or some British possession. Base or counterfeit coin; books, such as are prohibited to be imported into the United Kingdom, are likewise prohibited to be imported here.

EXPENDITURE has kept pace with increase of revenue. The salaries of public functionaries at the Cape, and various other disbursements, are as follows:—

Governor, £5,000; colonial secretary, £2,000; chief justice, £2,000; first puisne judge, £1,500; second ditto, £1,200; attorney-general, £1,200; treasurer, £1,000; collector of customs, £800; master of supreme court, £800; auditor-general, £700; surveyor-general, £700; post-master, £600; high-sheriff, £600; superintendent of police, £600; superintendent-general of education, £500; chief commissioner and commandant, British Kaffraria, £500. There is a civil commissioner, and also a resident magistrate, in each district; the salaries of the former vary from £100 to £200 a year, those of the latter are £300 per annum. The civil establishment (including the above salaries) amounts to about £120,000 per annum. The pensions on the civil list of the colonial revenue in 1850 amounted to £10,087. The allowance for ecclesiastical establishments is about £16,500; for educational, £5,000; medical,

£3,500; police and prisons, £16,000; judicial, £11,000; and administration of justice, £3,800. Divisional courts, £16,000; for aborigines, £6,500; of this the Kafir police for 1850 was placed at £5,355. The presents to Kafirs, rations, &c., amounted only to £586; the allowances by treaties and engagements to native chiefs, £457; contributions towards a botanic garden, £300.

The amounts expended by Great Britain in the colony, during 1850, for military purposes, were:—royal artillery, pay and allowances, £5,470; royal engineers, £1,386; royal sappers and miners, £5,925; ordnance and artillery labourers, stores, &c., £11,516; barrack and commissariat, £16,936; supplies, military allowances, ordinary and commissariat services, £303,276: total expense by Great Britain, £344,511. The government contract for supplying the troops with food, is 6d. per day for each man; the rations consist of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of good meat, 1 lb. of excellent bread, and groceries according to dietary table. During peace, government makes a profit of 2d. to 3d. on each ration, but probably loses in proportion during war.

BANKS.—Ten joint-stock companies are in operation, most of them issuing notes for £5, and upwards, over which issues government has no control; the amount of their paper in circulation in 1851, was about £135,000. The state of the Banks and other companies, in 1851, is thus shown:—

| Name of the Company.  | Established. | Number of shares. | Subscribed value. | Amount Paid up.     | Price.   | Last Dividend. |
|---|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------|
| Exchange Buildings . . . . .  | 1819         | 159               | £37 10s.          | £37 10s.            | £20 0 0  | £2 0 0         |
| S. African Fire and Life Assurance Co. . .                                    | 1831         | 200               | 100 0             | 10 0                | 70 0 0   | 3 5 0          |
| S. African Association for Administration and Settlement of Estates . . . . . | 1834         | 42                | 375 0             | 375 0               | 453 0 0  | 35 0 0         |
| Cape of G. Hope Trust and Assurance Co. . .                                   | 1835         | 900               | 25 0              | 19 0                | 17 5 0   | 0 5 0          |
| Cape of G. Hope Joint-Stock Co. . . . .                                       | 1835         | 40                | 22 10             | 22 10               | 20 0 0   | —              |
| Cape of G. Hope Bank . . . . .  | 1837         | 1,500             | 50 0              | 40 0                | 70 10 0  | 5 0 0          |
| S. African Bank . . . . .   | 1838         | 2,000             | 50 0              | 30 0                | 40 0 0   | 3 10 0         |
| Cape of G. Hope Marine Assurance Co. . .                                      | 1838         | 1,500             | 50 0              | 10 0                | 16 10 6  | 1 10 0         |
| Board of Executors . . . . .  | 1838         | 60                | *200 0            | 200 0               | 260 10 0 | 5 0 0          |
| Protecteur Fire and Life Assurance Co. . .                                    | 1838         | 2,000             | 20 0              | 5 0                 | 15 15 0  | 1 0 0          |
| Eastern Province Bank . . . . .   | 1838         | 1,600             | 25 0              | 16 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 29 0 0   | †1 5 0         |
| Eastern Prov. Fire and Life Assurance Co. .                                   | 1839         | 400               | 50 0              | 5 0                 | 15 0 0   | —              |
| Cape of G. Hope Gas-Light Co. . . . .   | 1844         | 600               | 15 0              | 15 0                | 21 0 0   | 0 10 0         |
| Colonial Bank . . . . .   | 1844         | 2,000             | 50 0              | 30 0                | 40 0 0   | 3 0 0          |
| Equitable Fire Assurance and Trust Co. .                                      | 1844         | 1,000             | 25 0              | 5 0                 | 10 0 0   | 0 6 0          |
| Eastern Province Trust Co. . . . .  | 1845         | 150               | 50 0              | 10 0                | 12 0 0   | 2 0 0          |
| Port Elizabeth Bank . . . . .   | 1846         | 1,600             | 25 0              | 10 0                | 13 10 0  | 0 12 0         |
| Frontier Commercial and Agricultural Bank                                     | 1847         | 1,200             | 50 0              | 25 0                | 24 10 0  | †0 15 0        |
| Union Bank . . . . .  | 1847         | 15,000            | 10 0              | 5 0                 | 5 13 0   | 0 6 0          |
| Natal Cotton Co. . . . .  | 1847         | 2,000             | 10 0              | 4 0                 | 1 5 6    | —              |
| Western Province Bank (Paarl) . . . . .                                       | 1847         | 1,000             | 20 0              | 10 0                | 15 0 0   | —              |
| Graaf-Reynet Bank . . . . .   | 1848         | 1,600             | 25 0              | 12 10               | 12 15 0  | 0 11 8         |
| Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Co. . .  | 1849         | 500               | 20 0              | 3 0                 | 3 0 0    | —              |
| Equitable Marine Assurance Co. . . . .  | 1849         | 1,000             | 25 0              | 5 0                 | 5 0 0    | †0 4 6         |
| Eastern Province Mining Association . .                                       | 1849         | 2,000             | 5 0               | 0 5                 | 0 5 0    | —              |
| Worcester Bank . . . . .  | —            | —                 | —                 | —                   | —        | —              |

Note.—The £200 marked thus (\*) was paid £10 in cash and £190 by bond.—The dividends marked thus (†) are paid half-yearly.



MONIES of account, English. — British coin in circulation, about £600,000. The quantity imported from 1825 to 1849, inclusive, has been £1,226,522; exported, £482,605.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—For government purposes, the English standard is used; for private dealings, the Dutch standard is still in operation. The following table shows their relative proportions:—

*Weights.*

91 $\frac{3}{10}$  lbs. Dutch (92 nearly) = 100 lbs. English.  
1 lb. Dutch, nearly = 1 lb. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  oz.  
1 load, . . . . . =  $\frac{1}{2}$  oz.

*Liquid Measure.*

A leaquer = 152 Dutch gal., or about 126 $\frac{7}{10}$  imp. gal.  
A pipe = 110 do. " 91 $\frac{7}{10}$  "  
An aum = 38 do. " 31 $\frac{3}{4}$  "  
An anker = 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  do. " 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  "

*Corn Measure.*

A schepel = . . . . .  $\frac{743}{1000}$  imp. bushel.  
A muid = 4 schepels =  $\frac{2972}{1000}$  "  
A load = 10 muids =  $\frac{29720}{1000}$  "

*Land Measure.*

1,000 Rhyndland feet = 1,033 English.  
1 Rhyndland rood = 12 Rhyndland feet = 144 Rhyndland inches.  
144 square inches = 1 square foot Rhyndland.  
144 square feet = 1 square rood.  
600 square roods = 1 morgen.  
1 morgen = nearly 2 English acres.  
49 $\frac{71}{100}$  morgen = 100 English acres.

STAPLE PRODUCTS, EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND SHIPPING.—Corn, wool, wine, aloes, hides and skins, tallow, whale oil, ivory, gums, provisions, live-stock, feathers, &c., constitute the principal articles of traffic. The export of some of these items is thus shown at different periods:—

| Year. | Ivory, in lbs. | Number of Hides. | Number of Skins. | Aloes, in lbs. | Wine, in gallons. | Wool, in lbs. | Tallow, in lbs. |
|-------|----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1800  | 1,500          | 300              | —                | 71,834         | —                 | —             | —               |
| 1820  | 9,510          | —                | —                | 348,000        | —                 | —             | —               |
| 1830  | 25,497         | 264,105          | —                | 375,736        | 1,548,085         | 33,280        | 13,333          |
| 1840  | 12,359         | 29,250           | 311,491          | 485,574        | 952,000           | 911,118       | 15,444          |
| 1849  | 38,367         | 52,223           | 449,938          | 348,814        | 443,245           | 5,024,946     | 68,832          |
| 1850  | 54,061         | 26,513           | 419,121          | 227,612        | 374,803           | 5,912,927     | 25,308          |

The augmenting value of trade and tonnage, inwards, is stated in the annexed table, at intervals, since 1836:—

| Year. | Imports.  | Exports. | Shipping, Inwards. |
|-------|-----------|----------|--------------------|
|       |           |          | Tons.              |
| 1836  | £541,038  | £362,280 | 134,875            |
| 1840  | 732,494   | 775,060  | 184,142            |
| 1849  | 914,535   | 594,920  | 204,049            |
| 1850  | 1,277,101 | 637,252  | 224,126            |

The shipping visiting the Cape has largely increased. The tonnage, inwards, of each port, is thus shown:—

| Year. | Table Bay. | Simon's Bay. | Algoa Bay. | Total.  |
|-------|------------|--------------|------------|---------|
|       | Tons.      | Tons.        | Tons.      | Tons.   |
| 1824  | 19,525     | 1,300        | —          | 20,825  |
| 1829  | 66,736     | 2,206        | 4,274      | 73,216  |
| 1844  | 171,599    | 16,096       | 19,626     | 207,311 |
| 1848  | 172,577    | 15,268       | 24,900     | 212,745 |
| 1849  | 163,063    | 13,279       | 23,291     | 202,533 |
| 1850  | 175,228    | 17,896       | 29,626     | 222,750 |

Note.—East London Port had inwards, in 1849, 1,417 tons.

There is a considerable coasting-trade, which has of late years augmented. In 1835, the coasting tonnage, inwards, was, tons, 11,313; in 1844, 30,000. Steam-vessels are now being brought into operation, which will promote the trade from Walvisch Bay, on the west, to Delagoa Bay,

on the south-east shore of Africa. In 1850, there were thirty-nine vessels, including one steamer, registered in the colony as colonial property; their aggregate burthen was 4,940 tons, giving an average of nearly 130 tons for each vessel.

The commerce of Algoa Bay, Port Elizabeth, has risen rapidly into importance.

| Year. | Imports. |         | Exports. |         |
|-------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
|       | Vessels. | Value.  | Vessels. | Value.  |
| 1822  | —        | £13,000 | —        | £5,200  |
| 1832  | 46       | 20,000  | 44       | 90,304  |
| 1842  | 95       | 162,252 | 92       | 94,674  |
| 1844  | 114      | 135,919 | 113      | 118,860 |
| 1849  | 134      | 253,685 | 137      | 193,791 |
| 1850  | 155      | 354,749 | 146      | 294,905 |

The declared value of British manufactures exported from England, in 1849, to the Cape of Good Hope, was, £520,896; and of other articles, £52,535. Of the manufactures, there were cottons, 6,200,000 yards; woollens, 260,000 yards, and 17,400 pieces; linen, 442,000 yards; soap and candles, 483,000 lbs.; hats, 4,000; hardware, £24,280; iron and steel, £36,500; lead and shots, 200 tons; leather, 164,400 lbs.; saddlery, £10,300; earthenware, 347,700 pieces; glass, 6,488 cwts.; haberdashery, £82,233; beer, 2,390 brls.; coals, 7,261 tons.

# 146 PRODUCE OF EASTERN AND WESTERN PROVINCE; VALUE OF LAND.

The mercantile progress of the eastern, as compared with the western province of the colony, is shown in the following comparative table of some of their staple exports:—

## Western Province.

| Year. | Value of Wool. | Wool, in lbs. | Hides, Value. | Skins, Value. | Total.  |
|-------|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------|
| 1838  | £16,555        | 286,246       | £8,178        | £16,639       | £41,372 |
| 1839  | 19,257         | 377,639       | 8,794         | 18,168        | 46,219  |
| 1840  | 24,962         | 509,597       | 5,604         | 13,811        | 44,377  |
| 1841  | 29,416         | 536,979       | 6,522         | 15,045        | 50,983  |
| 1842  | 28,937         | 616,807       | —             | —             | 28,937  |
| 1843  | 27,030         | 534,377       | 9,545         | 10,949        | 47,524  |
| 1844  | 45,872         | 936,269       | 7,560         | 11,460        | 64,892  |
| 1845  | 46,837         | 1,109,554     | 12,042        | 13,468        | 72,347  |
| 1846  | 58,553         | 1,082,191     | 13,288        | 19,387        | 91,228  |
| 1847  | 54,068         | 1,135,638     | 9,721         | 13,172        | 76,961  |
| 1848  | 57,293         | 1,590,952     | 7,013         | 15,452        | 79,758  |
| 1850  | —              | 1,589,277     | —             | —             | —       |

## Eastern Province.

| Year. | Wool, Value. | Wool, in lbs. | Hides, Value. | Skins, Value. | Total.  |
|-------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------|
| 1838  | £10,072      | 204,508       | £13,001       | £7,252        | £30,325 |
| 1839  | 10,923       | 208,338       | 8,578         | 6,726         | 26,237  |
| 1840  | 21,023       | 401,521       | 13,042        | 7,289         | 41,354  |
| 1841  | 22,190       | 479,828       | 19,494        | 10,079        | 51,763  |
| 1842  | 43,560       | 811,986       | —             | —             | —       |
| 1843  | 56,582       | 1,220,380     | 26,400        | 11,174        | 94,156  |
| 1844  | 67,635       | 1,297,677     | 19,998        | 4,848         | 92,481  |
| 1845  | 127,004      | 2,085,064     | 21,092        | 6,374         | 154,470 |
| 1846  | 119,458      | 2,188,637     | 19,489        | 13,269        | 152,216 |
| 1847  | 132,167      | 2,583,399     | 18,889        | 13,137        | 164,193 |
| 1848  | 86,010       | 2,079,968     | 4,480         | 9,315         | 99,805  |
| 1849  | 143,384      | 3,457,734     | 4,858         | 7,652         | 155,894 |
| 1850  | —            | 4,323,650     | —             | —             | —       |

*Note.*—The wool was shipped from Table Bay for the Western Province, and from Algoa Bay for the Eastern Province.—In 1833 the exports of fine wool were, from Table Bay, 73,324 lbs., and from Algoa Bay, 39,753 lbs.

**LANDS.**—About two-fifths of the whole colony, comprising, without the recent additions, about 120,000 square miles, or 76,000,000 acres, are supposed to consist of mountain ranges and arid plains, almost entirely unfit for agricultural or pastoral purposes. The quantity of land granted to December, 1848, was 43,276,504 acres; of the remainder ungranted, some is held by farmers on loan tenure, included in the Kat River settlement, or appropriated for missionary stations, town commons, &c. It is estimated that of the ungranted lands, no more than five million acres are in any degree fit for cultivation. The average price, per 100 acres, for land in the western province, is £12 to £15; in the eastern, £21 to £22. The quit-rent charged, averages 6d. per 100 acres; this may be

redeemed and land converted into freehold, on payment of fifteen years' purchase.

In 1844, about 549,000 acres were held under lease at 3s. 10d. to 13s. 3½d. per square mile; the quit-rents extended over 44,420,350 acres, at  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a penny per acre.

The value of *landed* property, not including government, military, municipal, or recently acquired territory, is thus stated in 1851:—Cape Town, Cape, and Malmesbury Divisions, £1,905,087; area in square miles, 3,593; value (in round numbers) per square mile, £550.

| Divisions.         | Value.    | Area, in square miles. | Value, per square mile. |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Western Province:— |           |                        |                         |
| Stellenbosch . .   | £630,447  | 2,280                  | £276                    |
| Swellendam . .     | 572,820   | 7,616                  | 75                      |
| George . . . .     | 284,522   | 4,032                  | 65                      |
| Clanwilliam . .    | 192,462   | 22,111                 | 9                       |
| Worcester . . .    | 233,272   | 20,000                 | 12                      |
| Beaufort . . . .   | 162,196   | 13,050                 | 12                      |
| Total . . . .      | 2,095,719 | 69,089                 | —                       |
| Eastern Province:— |           |                        |                         |
| Albany . . . .     | 530,535   | 1,792                  | 300                     |
| Uitenhage . . .    | 348,625   | 8,960                  | 39                      |
| Graaf-Reynet . .   | 276,641   | 8,060                  | 34                      |
| Colesberg . . .    | 145,647   | 11,654                 | 12                      |
| Somerset . . . .   | 179,566   | 4,000                  | 45                      |
| Cradock . . . .    | 184,940   | 3,168                  | 60                      |
| Total . . . .      | 1,665,754 | 37,574                 | —                       |

The grand total of the whole is £5,666,560 sterling. The value of the assessed immoveable property in the colony, is, under the divisional road board's assessment, £5,822,390; municipal, £2,028,620; total, £7,851,010. The number of rate-payers in the municipalities, is 5,591; in the divisional road board's assessment, 17,474.

*Land is sold*, in freehold, by public auction, at an upset price of 2s. per acre; the cost of survey is added to the sale price.

*Wages.*—Domestic, 15s. to 60s. per month; farm, 45s.; tradesmen, 3s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. per day.

*Provisions* are very cheap; meat, 1d. per pound; bread and other necessities of life in proportion.

The colony affords a good opening to labouring-men and mechanics of steady habits and sober character, and an opportunity of becoming proprietors and employers of labour. The voyage between England and the Cape is now performed in thirty to thirty-six days, by the monthly packets of the *Screw Steam-Ship Company*.



*Live Stock, Animal Productions, Agriculture and Agricultural Productions, in the Cape Colony, for the year 1849, collated and arranged from the Blue Book for 1850:—*

| Live Stock, Agricultural Productions, &c. | Cape Division. | Mal-<br>mes-<br>bury. | Stel-<br>len-<br>bosch. | Paarl. | Wor-<br>ces-<br>ter. | Cham-<br>will-<br>iam. | Cale-<br>don. | Swel-<br>lendam. | George-<br>town. | Beau-<br>fort. | Uiten-<br>hage. | Port<br>Elizabeth. | Albany. | Port<br>Beau-<br>fort. | Somer-<br>set. | Cra-<br>dock. | Graaf-<br>Reynet. | Cole-<br>berg. | Vic-<br>toria. | Albert. | Total.    |
|---|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------|----------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------|------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|---------|-----------|
| <b>Horses:—</b>                           |                |                       |                         |        |                      |                        |               |                  |                  |                |                 |                    |         |                        |                |               |                   |                |                |         |           |
| For husbandry . . .                       | 1,500          | 5,557                 | 731                     | 2,115  | 2,913                | 1,473                  | 2,965         | 4,175            | 3,217            | 2,170          | 426             | 218                | 1,077   | 704                    | 511            | 2,356         | 2,872             | 2,706          | 1,610          | 2,561   | 41,017    |
| For breeding . . .                        | 500            | 3,979                 | 223                     | 2,211  | 2,954                | 6,434                  | 3,499         | 8,884            | 5,697            | 1,617          | 891             | 192                | 625     | 799                    | 2,028          | 3,678         | 3,416             | 4,291          | 1,323          | 4,161   | 51,970    |
| Cattle, foals, &c. . .                    | 800            | 1,385                 | 100                     | 156    | 1,845                | 763                    | 804           | 4,465            | 2,662            | 1,067          | 263             | 101                | 617     | 333                    | 1,266          | 2,218         | 2,132             | 2,046          | 758            | 2,239   | 25,863    |
| Asses . . .                               | 80             | 83                    | 18                      | 15     | 21                   | 2                      | 115           | 230              | 31               | 58             | —               | —                  | 4       | 4                      | —              | 1             | 4                 | —              | —              | —       | 612       |
| Mules . . .                               | 100            | 757                   | 525                     | 562    | 116                  | 2                      | 273           | 707              | 100              | —              | —               | —                  | —       | —                      | —              | 5             | 95                | 1              | —              | —       | 3,305     |
| <b>BLACK CATTLE:—</b>                     |                |                       |                         |        |                      |                        |               |                  |                  |                |                 |                    |         |                        |                |               |                   |                |                |         |           |
| Oxen . . .                                | 3,000          | 10,376                | 2,869                   | 6,415  | 10,504               | 9,715                  | 3,612         | 16,887           | 24,818           | 7,072          | 5,006           | 1,902              | 12,620  | 7,566                  | 16,338         | 7,028         | 9,762             | 8,859          | 17,759         | 9,478   | 191,586   |
| Cows . . .                                | 2,000          | 9,219                 | 1,995                   | 1,586  | 6,200                | 16,715                 | 1,306         | 11,198           | 10,316           | 4,393          | 5,127           | 640                | 8,222   | 5,181                  | 9,021          | 8,938         | 40,039            | 15,639         | 26,066         | 15,978  | 198,899   |
| Heifers, &c. . .                          | 1,150          | 3,615                 | 474                     | 1,110  | 3,615                | 3,620                  | 860           | 13,764           | 9,739            | 2,728          | 6,364           | 740                | 4,633   | 3,636                  | 8,562          | 11,087        | 8,978             | 10,179         | 30,714         | 8,768   | 134,365   |
| <b>SHEEP:—</b>                            |                |                       |                         |        |                      |                        |               |                  |                  |                |                 |                    |         |                        |                |               |                   |                |                |         |           |
| Woolled . . .                             | 5,000          | 21,952                | 20,046                  | 16,023 | 14,556               | 7,042                  | 187,268       | 276,902          | 123,933          | 48,460         | 26,383          | 4,846              | 149,219 | 82,945                 | 463,384        | 209,240       | 384,921           | 109,388        | 1,244          | 56,200  | 2,853,232 |
| African . . .                             | 4,500          | 40,392                | 1,411                   | 6,341  | 223,561              | 223,303                | 2,236         | 17,865           | 7,511            | 208,954        | 14,440          | —                  | 100     | 9,003                  | 31,931         | 120,774       | 215,013           | 647,060        | 9,071          | 211,453 | 2,114,919 |
| Goats . . .                               | 1,287          | 23,050                | 3,678                   | 4,518  | 47,294               | 87,971                 | 8,082         | 117,006          | 54,347           | 82,051         | 14,260          | 200                | 21,065  | 3,648                  | 58,176         | 25,061        | 64,610            | 38,384         | 49,282         | 7,339   | 711,618   |
| Pigs . . .                                | 87             | 1,645                 | 633                     | 2,880  | 1,402                | 830                    | 801           | 1,870            | 1,447            | 162            | 183             | 78                 | 1,014   | 8,374                  | 353            | 153           | —                 | 98             | 358            | 64      | 21,952    |
| <b>ANIMAL PRODUCE:—</b>                   |                |                       |                         |        |                      |                        |               |                  |                  |                |                 |                    |         |                        |                |               |                   |                |                |         |           |
| Wool . . . lbs.                           | 6,140          | 28,100                | 29,091                  | 23,144 | 17,330               | —                      | 343,171       | 347,871          | 107,429          | 102,400        | 22,150          | 6,150              | 162,000 | 121,580                | 455,752        | 330,590       | 633,029           | 54,501         | 870            | 36,600  | 2,821,901 |
| Butter . . .                              | 1,156          | 7,530                 | 7,839                   | 3,482  | 20,290               | 570                    | 3,048         | 37,080           | 39,630           | 623            | 33,708          | 2,200              | 20,500  | 6,820                  | 22,237         | 6,330         | 7,874             | 6,000          | 4,395          | 2,900   | 268,613   |
| Tallow . . .                              | 1,123          | 3,750                 | 2,400                   | 3,180  | 11,180               | 2,430                  | 6,336         | 37,540           | 39,459           | 23,240         | 3,000           | 680                | 2,900   | 11,041                 | 33,564         | 17,400        | 31,605            | 2,100          | 1,100          | 2,000   | 268,613   |
| Soap . . .                                | 150            | 530                   | —                       | 22     | 9,976                | 2,650                  | 2,410         | 25,030           | 34,415           | 13,315         | 1,500           | 530                | —       | 430                    | 600            | 376           | —                 | 2,272          | 450            | 800     | 146,819   |
| Hides . . . No.                           | 96             | 525                   | 440                     | 1,081  | 1,950                | 65                     | 1,364         | 2,075            | 1,516            | 215            | 75              | 110                | —       | —                      | —              | —             | —                 | —              | —              | —       | 34,089    |
| Skins . . .                               | 1,356          | 9,933                 | 13,875                  | 24,511 | 29,079               | 730                    | 7,049         | 54,960           | 36,535           | 10,811         | 3,190           | 500                | —       | 1,049                  | 13,414         | 17,260        | —                 | 281            | 18,722         | 2,000   | 245,775   |
| <b>ACRES IN CROP:—</b>                    |                |                       |                         |        |                      |                        |               |                  |                  |                |                 |                    |         |                        |                |               |                   |                |                |         |           |
| Wheat . . .                               | 1,095          | 19,864                | 4,092                   | 1,046  | 5,319                | 5,110                  | 5,290         | 5,600            | 9,316            | 1,171          | 3,044           | 1,164              | 1,666   | 1,057                  | 1,057          | 825           | 972               | 1,785          | 1,392          | 550     | 75,258    |
| Barley . . .                              | 1,860          | 2,045                 | 380                     | 1,547  | 1,519                | 804                    | 762           | 2,072            | 2,440            | 439            | 440             | 337                | 337     | 1,170                  | 412            | 171           | 874               | 962            | 192            | 212     | 16,300    |
| Oats and rye . . .                        | 6,350          | 14,900                | 300                     | 1,500  | 2,247                | 2,338                  | 2,180         | 4,194            | 3,178            | 196            | 4,582           | 387                | 299     | 420                    | 420            | 80            | 2,420             | 298            | 252            | 622     | 46,309    |
| Maize and millet . .                      | 78             | 12                    | 160                     | 77     | 36                   | 18                     | 42            | 141              | 3,178            | 66             | 716             | 467                | 134     | 278                    | 40             | 30            | 1,382             | 1,880          | 100            | 22,814  | 31,565    |
| Peas, beans, &c. . .                      | 20             | 112                   | 180                     | 68     | 92                   | 18                     | 56            | 400              | 1,223            | 54             | 122             | 86                 | 56      | 56                     | 40             | 30            | 38                | —              | 40             | 178     | 2,923     |
| Potatoes and vege-<br>tables . . .        | 150            | 58                    | 460                     | 161    | 115                  | 53                     | 51            | 314              | 807              | 52             | 278             | 175                | 167     | 123                    | 134            | 134           | 754               | 1,132          | 57             | 207     | 5,248     |
| Vines . . .                               | 110            | 503                   | 5,000                   | 2,300  | 542                  | 85                     | 352           | 1,042            | 1,852            | 730            | 349             | 96                 | 76      | 100                    | 426            | 65            | 8                 | —              | 30             | 1       | 10,809    |
| Gardens and orna-<br>ments . . .          | 600            | 565                   | 1,000                   | 729    | 623                  | 215                    | 244           | 1,893            | 1,879            | 406            | 349             | 96                 | 76      | 100                    | 426            | 65            | 8                 | —              | 38             | 35      | 10,711    |
| Tobacco . . .                             | —              | —                     | —                       | —      | —                    | —                      | —             | —                | —                | —              | —               | —                  | —       | —                      | —              | —             | —                 | —              | —              | —       | 1,092     |
| Total in Crop . . .                       | 10,263         | 38,057                | 4                       | 5,971  | 10,435               | 8,795                  | 8,978         | 16,038           | 24,052           | 3,126          | 9,656           | 70                 | 32      | 2,790                  | 4,068          | 1,551         | 7,202             | 6,057          | 2,101          | 24,919  | 198,483   |
| <b>AMOUNT OF PRODUCE</b>                  |                |                       |                         |        |                      |                        |               |                  |                  |                |                 |                    |         |                        |                |               |                   |                |                |         |           |
| Wheat . . . bushels.                      | 60,200         | 38,721                | 5,136                   | 6,849  | 51,769               | 40,845                 | 88,284        | 68,649           | 73,886           | 16,455         | 9,210           | 12,192             | 21,342  | 39,510                 | 19,485         | 19,485        | 7,050             | 12,399         | 7,141          | 3,672   | 585,325   |
| Barley . . .                              | 17,666         | 3,753                 | 5,004                   | 26,596 | 11,433               | 26,758                 | 68,412        | 18,577           | 1,649            | 6,369          | 2,640           | 5,322              | 6,243   | 10,026                 | 6,318          | 27,690        | 11,511            | 1,515          | 1,515          | —       | 295,443   |
| Oats and rye . . .                        | 46,300         | 50,909                | 8,070                   | 10,761 | 29,690               | 16,604                 | 29,832        | 18,577           | 9,967            | 984            | 324             | 4,812              | 900     | 2,497                  | 2,497          | 255           | 11,010            | 8,334          | —              | 903     | 249,307   |
| Maize and millet . .                      | 120            | 63                    | 3,123                   | 4,164  | 689                  | 210                    | 326           | 2,004            | 7,005            | 894            | 324             | 324                | 2,992   | 216                    | 468            | 120           | 300               | —              | —              | —       | 133,434   |
| Peas and beans . . .                      | 60             | 136                   | 753                     | 1,006  | 795                  | 436                    | 402           | 5,133            | 7,706            | 793            | 5,277           | 276                | 3,006   | 2,949                  | 376            | 15,000        | 300               | 3,015          | 284            | 66      | 18,921    |
| Potatoes . . .                            | 321            | 8,214                 | 10,392                  | 1,110  | 1,102                | 1,852                  | 5,766         | 2,658            | 3,765            | 4,080          | 2,579           | 12                 | 43      | 38                     | 754            | 20            | —                 | —              | 9              | —       | 18,873    |
| Wine . . . pipes                          | —              | 266                   | 11,640                  | 12,000 | 500                  | 248                    | 322           | 1,120            | 330              | 580            | 90              | 12                 | 8       | 14                     | 20             | 290           | —                 | —              | —              | —       | 28,870    |
| Whisky . . .                              | —              | 15                    | 43                      | 621    | —                    | —                      | 57            | 28               | 680              | —              | —               | —                  | —       | —                      | —              | —             | —                 | —              | —              | —       | 31,114    |

*Note.*—The Cape Division does not include Cape Town, for which there are no returns.—In 1836, there were in the whole colony 6,301 horses, 224,540 cattle, 1,510,104 sheep, 306,785 goats. The quantity of land in cultivation was 87,813 acres; the produce was,—wheat, 468,209; barley, 218,409; rye, 34,258; oats, 241,186; maize, 7,335; peas, beans, &c., 9,255; potatoes, 8,945 bushels; wine, 16,693; brandy, 1,282 leaguers, of 152 gallons each.

RELIGION.—The following abstract of the latest ecclesiastical returns, shows the numerous denominations of Christians included in the colony, and their distribution :—

| Divisions.                             | Dutch Reformed. | Scottish Presbyterians. | Church of England. | Lutherans. | Independents and Congregationalists. | Wesleyans. | Moravian, Rhenish, and other Protestant Missions | Roman Catholics |
|--|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|------------|--|-----------------|
| Cape Town and Cape Division . . . . .  | 18,834          | 1,145                   | 7,300              | 1,500      | 994                                  | 2,325      | 5,058  | 2,000           |
| Stellenbosch . . . . .                 | 8,277           | —                       | 100                | —          | —                                    | 890        | 700  | —               |
| Worcester . . . . .                    | 2,400           | —                       | —                  | —          | —                                    | —          | 3,182  | —               |
| Clanwilliam . . . . .                  | 3,000           | —                       | —                  | —          | —                                    | 1,100      | 814  | —               |
| Swellendam . . . . .                   | 6,400           | —                       | —                  | —          | —                                    | —          | 6,511  | —               |
| George . . . . .                       | 1,950           | —                       | 200                | —          | 2,900                                | 100        | —  | 280             |
| Beaufort . . . . .                     | 7,600           | —                       | —                  | —          | —                                    | —          | —  | —               |
| Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth . . . . . | 2,800           | —                       | 1,750              | —          | 1,357                                | —          | 308  | 550             |
| Albany . . . . .                       | 1,942           | —                       | 1,560              | —          | 900                                  | 3,855      | —  | 600             |
| Somerset . . . . .                     | 3,530           | —                       | —                  | —          | —                                    | 250        | —  | —               |
| Cradock . . . . .                      | 3,300           | —                       | —                  | —          | 400                                  | 382        | —  | 100             |
| Graaf-Reynet . . . . .                 | 2,800           | —                       | 109                | —          | —                                    | —          | —  | 50              |
| Colesberg . . . . .                    | 1,200           | —                       | —                  | —          | 275                                  | 350        | —  | —               |
| Total . . . . .                        | 64,033          | 1,145                   | 11,510             | 1,500      | 6,826                                | 9,752      | 16,573   | 3,580           |

Note.—No return has been made of the number of Jews, Mahomedans, Heathens, and others not included in the above table. There are probably about 6,000 Mahomedans in Cape Town, but their number is small in other parts of the colony.

The proportion per cent. of the Christian population, in connexion with the principal denominations, has been thus estimated :—

| Denominations.              | White. | Coloured. |
|-----------------------------|--------|-----------|
| Church of England . . . . . | 9.36   | .55       |
| Dutch Reformed . . . . .    | 63.12  | 6.45      |
| Presbyterian . . . . .      | .92    | 3.58      |
| Wesleyan . . . . .          | 5.31   | 6.46      |
| Independent . . . . .       | 1.49   | 11.30     |
| Moravian . . . . .          | .04    | 5.93      |
| Lutheran . . . . .          | 1.45   | 5.56      |
| Roman Catholic . . . . .    | 4.34   | .14       |

The Dutch Reformed Church in the sovereignty and in the republic beyond the Vaal River, is extensive and increasing; in the former there are five pastorships, and two in the latter. The Church of England\* is presided over by a bishop (Dr. Gray), who was consecrated in 1847, to the see, which had been mainly formed through the munificence and piety of Miss Burdett Coutts. There are about forty clergymen distributed over the deanery of Cape Town, and the archdeaconry† of George and Graham's Town. The Dutch Church is governed by a synod composed of the officiating clergy

\* For twenty years after the permanent occupation of the Cape by Great Britain, no place of worship was erected for the celebration of the services of the Church of England. Even now the colony is but scantily endowed with English churches, though the untiring energies of Bishop Gray have been successfully directed to the establishment of a larger number.

† The venerable N. J. Merriman, archdeacon of

and elders of all the parishes in South Africa. A moderator, assessor, actuaries, scribes, and quæstor, form the executive. There are thirty-seven clergymen. The Evangelical Lutheran Church (St. Martin's) is ruled by a minister, elders, and deacons, as is also the Scottish Church. The Roman Catholics have a bishop, two apostolic vicars, and nine priests. The Mahomedans‡ have three mosques in the colony, presided over by moollahs or priests.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.—It would require a fair-sized volume to set forth adequately the magnitude of the efforts made by various dissenting Christian communities to gladden with Gospel light the heathen darkness of South Africa, or to describe the devoted labours of individuals who have forsaken home and country, renounced the habits of civilization which had become a second nature, and braved death by violence, by starvation, and disease, with almost apostolic zeal.

The opposition which early missionary exertions met with from the Dutch government has been already related. At length, in 1792, permission was with great difficulty obtained for the establishment of a Moravian mission at Genandendal. The British, on assuming the government, in 1795, gave decided encouragement to the propagation of religion, and General Dundas especially evinced great interest in the labours of Vanderkemp and others. The Dutch, during their second brief period of dominion, made some change in the narrow and unchristian policy which they had previously dis-

Graham's Town, is one of the most self-denying and exemplary pastors in the colonial church.

‡ Mahomedanism was introduced into the colony, by the slaves imported from Malacca, and gained ground through the kindness shown by the priests to the coloured people generally. It was also favoured by the Dutch, because its disciples refrained from wine and strong drink.



played. Kieherer, and several other missionaries, despatched by the Rotterdam society, were, by a proclamation or ordinance, dated February, 1805, authorized to proceed to the interior, for the purpose "of teaching and promoting religion and civilization amongst the helpless heathens." The institutions or schools were however to be formed so far beyond the colonial boundary, as to leave no possibility for persons connected with them having "daily communications with the frontier inhabitants, much less with the inhabitants or original natives living within the boundaries." Other clauses of this proclamation indicate that the authorities, instead of viewing the promotion of Christian civilization as their first duty, regarded both spiritual and secular instruction with alarm. The same suspicious distrust was evinced towards the missionaries within as without the colony; they were allowed to pass its limits only by the express sanction of the governor, were forbidden to teach writing to the natives, save in certain exceptional instances; and, were directed to inculcate, "as far as the intellects of the natives would permit," the first ideas of social order, "as it was established in Holland and in the colony."

Upon the re-establishment of British power, less stringent restrictions were imposed upon the missionaries; but they were not destined again to receive the cordial support afforded them in the time of General Dundas. Many of the leading authorities, and of the best class of colonists, showed them the respect and countenance due to their holy calling, and exerted their best influence to support and sustain them; others, on the contrary, cherished and excited most unjust prejudices against them.

Amongst so large a body as the South African missionaries, it is more than possible that individuals may have erred in conduct and in judgment. Some may (as is alleged) have exhibited indiscreetly their sympathy with the sufferings of their coloured brethren, and even overstepped the bounds of their ministerial functions in striving for the concession of civil rights to the members of their flocks; but no impartial person, endowed with a right perception of the inestimable value of Christianity, and of its humanizing and ennobling influence, can, after a careful examination of the records of the colony, and the events connected with its past painful history, deny that, with the exception of slave emancipation

and the 50th ordinance (see p. 61), the missionary proceedings form almost the only redeeming features of European intercourse with the Hottentots, Bushmen, Kafirs, and other African tribes. Nor must it be forgotten that the 50th ordinance, that inestimable boon to the Hottentots, was itself the fruit of missionary pleading, especially of the labours of one honoured member, the late venerable Dr. Philip, whose intercourse with Fowell Buxton, and other members of the anti-slavery party, was directly instrumental in its obtainment and ratification.

The track of the white settler has been too generally marked by usurpation of territory, by the introduction of noxious spirits, by demoralization, by strife, and by bloodshed; the missionary has gone alone, unarmed, unprotected by man, but relying upon God, with the Bible in his hand, and its pure and elevating doctrines on his lips, and has found a home among the barbaric races who had only known his countrymen as the "Bedouins of the sea," the usurpers of their land, and the destroyers of what little domestic happiness heathenism and polygamy could suffer them to enjoy. Christian societies in England, Scotland, the United States of America, France, Germany, and Holland, have sent forth their emissaries. The Roman Catholics came late into this vast field of missionary labour; the Church of England has not entered it all: but, without doubt, many of her members contribute indirectly to the good work carried on there.

The missionary stations in South Africa, without the colony, as marked in Mr. H. Hall's recent map, are in number as follows:—Wesleyan, 36; London Mission, 26; United Presbyterian, 6; Moravian, 11; French, 12; Rhenish, 18; Berlin, 8; Americans (in Natal), 2; Norwegian, 1: total, 114.

The Moravian "Missions of the Church of the United Brethren," have the high honour of having made the first effort to evangelize South Africa, and have here, as elsewhere, accomplished much good. Established in 1732, and originally employing as missionaries, artisans or husbandmen of simple manners, few wants, and for the most part inured to toil and hardships, their zealous efforts were judiciously directed to the promotion of the physical, as well as the spiritual welfare of their converts. The following statement of their position is derived from the returns for 1850:—

| Date of Establishment. | Name of Station. | Locality.         | Under Instruction. | In Church Fellowship. | Communicants. | Baptised Adults. | Baptised Children. | Candidates for Baptism. |
|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1792                   | Genadendal . .   | Caledon . . .     | 2,846              | 2,283                 | 949           | 423              | 911                | 563                     |
| 1808                   | Groenekloof . .  | Malmesbury . .    | 1,341              | 1,129                 | 345           | 226              | 558                | 212                     |
| 1818                   | Enon . . . . .   | Uitenhage . . .   | 304                | 278                   | 92            | 66               | 120                | 26                      |
| 1823                   | Leper hospital . | Robben Island .   | 1,214              | 850                   | 308           | 173              | 369                | 364                     |
| 1824                   | Elim . . . . .   | Caledon . . . .   | 45                 | 29                    | 13            | 12               | 4                  | 16                      |
| 1828                   | Shiloh . . . . . | Victoria . . . .  | 762                | 348                   | 86            | 60               | 152                | 464                     |
| 1839                   | Clarkson . . . . | Uitenhage . . .   | 323                | 210                   | 89            | 25               | 96                 | 113                     |
| 1848                   | Mamre . . . . .  | Kaffraria . . . . | 100                | —                     | —             | —                | —                  | —                       |
| 1849                   | Goshen . . . . . | " . . . . .       | —                  | —                     | —             | —                | —                  | —                       |

Note.—There are no completed returns for Mamre or Goshen.

Of the foregoing, 6,935 are Hottentots who have generally manifested loyalty to the British government; nearly 900 men belonging to the missions at Genadendal, Groenekloof, and Elim, are now encountering the privations and hazards of a Kafir war, and have gained the cordial approbation of their superiors by bravery in the field and good conduct in the camp. Shiloh, one of the most promis-

ing of the above stations, from whence 335 men joined the British forces in January, 1851, was positively driven into rebellion, as stated at p. 113. The missionaries have, for the present, at least, been obliged to abandon Shiloh, Mamre, and Goshen, to the sacrifice of most of their little property, and to the great detriment of the people among whom they laboured.

*Statistics of the Wesleyan Missions in South Africa, 1852:—*

| Name of Station.          | Established. | Denomination of People.  | Languages spoken.                           | Chapels. | Other Preaching Places. | Missionaries and Assistants. | Paid Agents.    |                      |
|---------------------------|--------------|--|---|----------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
|                           |              |  |   |          |                         |                              | Catechists, &c. | Day-school Teachers. |
| <i>Cape Colony—</i>       |              |  |   |          |                         |                              |                 |                      |
| Cape Town . . .           | 1820         | { British, Dutch, Hottentots, Malays, &c. }                      | English, Dutch . . .                        | 3        | 1                       | 4                            | —               | 1                    |
| Wynberg . . .             | 1834         | Brit., Dutch, Hottentots, &c.                                    | English, Dutch . . .                        | 2        | —                       | 1                            | —               | 1                    |
| Simon's Town . . .        | 1826         | British, Dutch, Hottentots                                       | English, Dutch . . .                        | 1        | 1                       | 1                            | —               | —                    |
| Stellenbosch . . .        | 1834         | Dutch, Hottentots . . .  | Dutch . . . . .                             | 2        | 1                       | 1                            | —               | 2                    |
| Somerset (West) . . .     | 1823         | Dutch, Hottentots . . .  | Dutch . . . . .                             | 3        | 1                       | 1                            | —               | 1                    |
| Khamies-Berg . . .        | 1816         | Namaquas . . . . .   | Dutch, Namaqua . . .                        | 2        | —                       | 1                            | —               | 1                    |
| Colesberg . . .           | 1840         | British, Bechuanas . . .   | English, Sichuana . . .                     | 2        | 4                       | —                            | 1               | —                    |
| Graham's Town . . .       | 1820         | { British, Hottentots, Kafirs, Fingoes, Mosambiques, Bechuanas } | English, Dutch, Kafir, Sichuana . . . . . } | 5        | 4                       | 3                            | —               | 3                    |
| Salem . . .               | 1820         | { British, Kafirs, Bechuanas, Fingoes }                          | English, Kafir . . .                        | 3        | 3                       | —                            | 1               | 3                    |
| Farmerfield . . .         | 1839         | British, Kafirs . . . . .  | English, Kafir . . .                        | 4        | 4                       | 1                            | —               | 2                    |
| Bathurst . . .            | 1835         | British, Fingoes . . . . .                                       | English, Kafir . . .                        | 1        | 5                       | 1                            | —               | 4                    |
| Fort Beaufort . . .       | 1838         | British, Kafirs . . . . .  | English, Kafir . . .                        | 2        | 5                       | 1                            | 1               | —                    |
| Port Elizabeth . . .      | 1839         | British, Kafirs . . . . .  | English, Kafir . . .                        | 3        | 8                       | 1                            | —               | 1                    |
| Craddock . . .            | 1842         | { British, Kafirs, Fingoes }                                     | English, Kafir . . .                        | 2        | 8                       | 2                            | —               | 1                    |
| Somerset . . .            | 1842         | British, Kafirs, Fingoes . . .                                   | English, Kafir . . .                        | 2        | 5                       | 1                            | 1               | 6                    |
| Burgher's Dorp . . .      | 1850         | British, Fingoes . . . . .                                       | English, Kafir . . .                        | 2        | 5                       | 1                            | 1               | 6                    |
| D'Urban (F. Peddie) . . . | 1837         | Kafirs . . . . .   | Kafir . . . . .                             | 2        | 5                       | 1                            | 1               | 6                    |
| Newton-Dale . . .         | 1837         | Kafirs . . . . .   | Kafir . . . . .                             | 2        | 5                       | 1                            | 1               | 6                    |
| <i>British Kaffraria—</i> |              |  |   |          |                         |                              |                 |                      |
| Mount Coke . . .          | 1825         | British, T'Slambie, Kafirs                                       | English, Kafir . . .                        | 6        | 2                       | 2                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Wesleyville . . .         | 1823         | Kafirs and Fingoes . . . . .                                     | Kafir . . . . .                             | 1        | —                       | 1                            | —               | —                    |
| K. William's Town . . .   | 1849         | British, Kafirs . . . . .  | English, Kafir . . .                        | 1        | —                       | 1                            | —               | —                    |
| Haslope Hills . . .       | 1840         | { Tambookies, Fingoes, Hottentots, Mosambiques, Malays }         | Dutch, Kafir, Sichuana                      | 2        | 6                       | 1                            | 1               | 2                    |
| Kamaston . . .            | 1842         | { Tambookies, Fingoes, Hottentots, Mosambiques, Malays }         | Dutch, Kafir, Sichuana                      | 2        | 6                       | 1                            | 1               | 2                    |
| Lesseyton . . .           | 1849         | Tambookie Kafirs . . . . .                                       | Kafir . . . . .                             | 1        | 3                       | —                            | 3               | 1                    |
| Wittcbergen . . .         | 1839         | Kafirs . . . . .   | Kafir . . . . .                             | 3        | 3                       | 1                            | —               | —                    |
| <i>Kaffraria Proper—</i>  |              |  |   |          |                         |                              |                 |                      |
| Butterworth* . . .        | 1827         | Amascora Kafirs . . . . .  | Kafir . . . . .                             | 5        | 6                       | 1                            | —               | 2                    |
| Beecham-Wood . . .        | 1840         | Amavelelo Kafirs . . . . .                                       | Kafir . . . . .                             | 1        | 3                       | —                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Clarkebury . . .          | 1831         | Abatembu Kafirs . . . . .  | Kafir . . . . .                             | 1        | 2                       | 1                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Morley . . .              | 1830         | Abatembu Kafirs . . . . .  | Kafir . . . . .                             | 4        | 6                       | 1                            | 2               | 2                    |
| Shawbury . . .            | 1841         | Amampondo Kafirs . . . . .                                       | Kafir . . . . .                             | 3        | 4                       | 1                            | 2               | 2                    |
| Buntingville . . .        | 1830         | Amampondo Kafirs . . . . .                                       | Kafir . . . . .                             | 1        | 5                       | —                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Palmerton . . .           | 1846         | Kafirs . . . . .   | Kafir . . . . .                             | 1        | 12                      | —                            | 3               | 1                    |
| <i>Orange River Sov.—</i> |              |  |   |          |                         |                              |                 |                      |
| Bloom Fontein . . .       | 1850         | Brit., Bechuanas, Kafirs, &c.                                    | English, Dutch, Kafir                       | 1        | 3                       | 1                            | 1               | —                    |
| <i>Gt. Namaqualand—</i>   |              |  |   |          |                         |                              |                 |                      |
| Nisbett Bath . . .        | 1834         | Namaquas . . . . .   | Dutch, Namaqua . . .                        | 6        | —                       | 1                            | 5               | 6                    |
| Hoole's Fountain . . .    | 1852         | Namaquas . . . . .   | Dutch, Namaqua . . .                        | 1        | 1                       | 1                            | 1               | 1                    |
| <i>Bechuana Country—</i>  |              |  |   |          |                         |                              |                 |                      |
| Thaba Unchu . . .         | 1833         | { Barolongs, Basutos, Korrannas }                                | Sichuana . . . . .                          | 1        | 6                       | 1                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Lokualo . . .             | 1845         | Basutos . . . . .  | Sichuana . . . . .                          | 1        | 6                       | 1                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Plaatsberg . . .          | 1826         | Newlanders, Basutos  | Engl., Dutch, Sichuana                      | 1        | 8                       | 1                            | —               | 1                    |
| Lishuani . . .            | 1838         | { Griquas, Bastaards, Mantatees }                                | Sichuana . . . . .                          | 1        | 6                       | 1                            | 2               | 1                    |
| Umpukani . . .            | 1833         | Mantatees, Bastaards, Basuto                                     | Sichuana . . . . .                          | 1        | 4                       | —                            | 2               | 1                    |
| Imparani . . .            | 1838         | Mantatees . . . . .  | Sichuana . . . . .                          | 1        | 1                       | —                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Taunane's Tribe . . .     | 1851         | Barolongs . . . . .  | Sichuana . . . . .                          | —        | —                       | 1                            | —               | —                    |
| <i>Natal—</i>             |              |  |   |          |                         |                              |                 |                      |
| D'Urban . . .             | 1841         | { British, Dutch, Zoolus, Hottentots, &c. }                      | English, Kafir, Dutch                       | 1        | 5                       | 1                            | —               | 4                    |
| Pietermaritzberg . . .    | 1846         | British, Dutch, Zoolus, &c.                                      | English, Kafir, Dutch                       | 3        | 1                       | 2                            | 1               | 1                    |
| Kwangubeni . . .          | 1849         | British, Zoolus . . . . .  | English, Kafir . . .                        | 1        | 2                       | 1                            | 4               | —                    |
| Indaleni . . .            | 1849         | British, Zoolus, Baraputsi                                       | English, Kafir . . .                        | 1        | 2                       | 1                            | 2               | 1                    |
| Totals . . .              |              |  |   | 85       | 141                     | 40                           | 39              | 58                   |

*Note.*—\* Abandoned on account of the war.

The above table shows the wide sphere of usefulness occupied by the Wesleyans, whose annual expenditure in South Africa is £15,000; aggregate expenditure, since 1816, £286,036 : 15s. : 4d.

The French protestant "*Société des Missions Evangeliques*," was founded in 1822, and maintained a college for the instruction of young men destined for missionaries, until the month of March, 1848,

when its useful labours were interrupted by the outbreak of the revolution; but it is to be hoped they may now be again resumed. A singular circumstance induced the selection of the Bechuana country (now comprised in the Orange River Sovereignty,) as the chief field of its operations. In the year 1830, the three first missionaries (Rolland, Lemue, and Pellisier), on their arrival at the Cape,



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Statistics of Wesleyan Missions in South Africa, 1852, (continued) :—

| Name of Station.     | Established. | Unpaid Agents.           |                  | Full and Accredited Church Members. | On trial for Membership. | Sabbath Schools. | Sabbath Scholars of both sexes. | Day Scholars. | Day Scholars of both sexes. | Scholars, deducting those who attended both Sabbath and Week-day Schools. |       |        | Attendants on Public Worship, including Members and Scholars. |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|---|-------|--------|---|
|                      |              | Sabbath school teachers. | Local preachers. |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             | Male.   | Fem.  | Total. |   |
|                      |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Cape Colony—         |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Cape Town . . .      | 1820         | 60                       | 9                | 293                                 | 26                       | 4                | 432                             | 1             | 136                         | 232   | 302   | 534    | 1,550   |
| Wynberg . . .        | 1834         | 5                        | 1                | 81                                  | 11                       | 2                | 106                             | 1             | 60                          | 80  | 72    | 152    | 500   |
| Simon's Town . .     | 1826         | 9                        | —                | 44                                  | 1                        | 1                | 71                              | —             | —                           | 29  | 42    | 71     | 300   |
| Stellenbosch . . .   | 1834         | 5                        | 2                | 125                                 | 22                       | 2                | 92                              | 2             | 185                         | 113   | 116   | 229    | 500   |
| Somerset (West) . .  | 1828         | 10                       | 2                | 204                                 | 69                       | 2                | 188                             | 2             | 242                         | 110   | 153   | 263    | 800   |
| Khamies-Berg . . .   | 1816         | 9                        | 3                | 134                                 | 28                       | 1                | 205                             | 1             | 95                          | 160   | 70    | 230    | 1,000   |
| Colesberg . . .      | 1840         | 10                       | —                | 30                                  | 3                        | 2                | 120                             | —             | —                           | 70  | 35    | 105    | 200   |
| Graham's Town . .    | 1820         | 92                       | 16               | 445                                 | 26                       | 4                | 751                             | 1             | 78                          | 369   | 440   | 809    | 2,200   |
| Salem . . .          | 1820         | 24                       | 4                | 217                                 | —                        | 3                | 231                             | 3             | 130                         | 105   | 126   | 231    | 1,000   |
| Farmerfield . . .    | 1839         |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Bathurst . . .       | 1835         | 17                       | 5                | 132                                 | 10                       | 3                | 143                             | 2             | 80                          | 70  | 79    | 149    | 700   |
| Fort Beaufort . . .  | 1838         | 21                       | —                | 130                                 | 30                       | 5                | 329                             | 3             | 150                         | 139   | 190   | 329    | 1,200   |
| Port Elizabeth . . . | 1839         | 24                       | 5                | 75                                  | —                        | 2                | 217                             | —             | —                           | 110   | 107   | 217    | 500   |
| Cradoek . . .        | 1842         | 24                       | 4                | 87                                  | —                        | 2                | 180                             | —             | —                           | 83  | 97    | 180    | 500   |
| Somerset . . .       | 1842         | 11                       | 2                | 77                                  | 29                       | 3                | 155                             | 1             | 12                          | 74  | 81    | 155    | 680   |
| Burgher's Dorp . .   | 1850         |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| D'Urban (F. Peddie)  | 1837         | 6                        | 2                | 152                                 | 52                       | 6                | 120                             | 4             | 100                         | 40  | 80    | 120    | 1,800   |
| Newton-Dale . . .    | 1837         |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| British Kaffraria—   |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Mount Coke . . .     | 1825         | 7                        | 1                | 51                                  | 5                        | 1                | 96                              | 2             | 122                         | 55  | 67    | 122    | 800   |
| Wesleyville . . .    | 1823         |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| K. William's Town .  | 1849         | 7                        | —                | —                                   | —                        | 1                | 56                              | —             | —                           | 33  | 23    | 56     | 160   |
| Haslope Hills . . .  | 1840         | 8                        | 5                | 19                                  | —                        | 2                | 125                             | 2             | 125                         | 55  | 70    | 125    | 1,000   |
| Kamaston . . .       | 1842         |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Lesseyton . . .      | 1849         | 3                        | 3                | 100                                 | —                        | 3                | 130                             | 1             | 130                         | 71  | 59    | 130    | 1,200   |
| Wittebergen . . .    | 1839         | 10                       | 12               | 40                                  | —                        | 4                | 300                             | 1             | 20                          | 140   | 160   | 300    | 2,000   |
| Kaffraria Proper—    |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Butterworth . . .    | 1827         | 10                       | 7                | 54                                  | 5                        | 3                | 326                             | 2             | 150                         | 150   | 176   | 326    | 5,000   |
| Beecham Wood . . .   | 1840         | 4                        | 1                | 137                                 | —                        | 1                | 40                              | 1             | 40                          | 20  | 20    | 40     | 1,000   |
| Clarkebury . . .     | 1831         | 6                        | 3                | 81                                  | 6                        | 1                | 192                             | 1             | 154                         | 83  | 109   | 192    | 1,800   |
| Morley . . .         | 1830         | 8                        | 7                | 115                                 | —                        | 3                | 100                             | 1             | 86                          | 80  | 106   | 186    | 3,000   |
| Shawbury . . .       | 1841         | 4                        | 4                | 97                                  | —                        | 2                | 185                             | 2             | 185                         | 75  | 110   | 185    | 2,000   |
| Buntingville . . .   | 1830         | 4                        | 5                | 66                                  | —                        | 1                | 180                             | 1             | 120                         | 82  | 98    | 180    | 1,500   |
| Palmerton . . .      | 1846         | 6                        | 4                | 63                                  | 16                       | 1                | 120                             | 1             | 80                          | 50  | 70    | 120    | 6,000   |
| Orange River Sov.—   |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Bloom Fontein . . .  | 1850         | —                        | —                | 30                                  | 3                        | 1                | 50                              | —             | —                           | 20  | 30    | 50     | 200   |
| Gt. Namaqualand—     |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Nisbett Bath . . .   | 1834         | 30                       | 1                | 302                                 | 64                       | 6                | 540                             | 6             | 450                         | 210   | 210   | 450    | 1,200   |
| Hoole's Fountain . . | 1852         | 7                        | 1                | 35                                  | 28                       | 1                | 294                             | 1             | 294                         | 118   | 170   | 288    | 600   |
| Bechuana Country—    |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Thaba Unchu . . .    | 1833         | 8                        | 8                | 220                                 | 17                       | 2                | 300                             | 2             | 70                          | 100   | 200   | 300    | 8,000   |
| Lokualo . . .        | 1845         |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| Plaatberg . . .      | 1826         | 12                       | 10               | 202                                 | 30                       | 1                | 120                             | 2             | 120                         | 110   | 60    | 200    |   |
| Lishnani . . .       | 1838         | 4                        | 4                | 26                                  | 10                       | 1                | 100                             | 1             | 50                          | 40  | 60    | 100    |   |
| Umpukani . . .       | 1833         | 2                        | 2                | 3                                   | 3                        | 2                | 100                             | 2             | 80                          | 50  | 80    | 130    |   |
| Imparani . . .       | 1838         | 6                        | 5                | 50                                  | —                        | 1                | 60                              | 2             | 50                          | 25  | 35    | 60     |   |
| Tauane's Tribe . . . | 1851         | —                        | —                | 15                                  | 13                       | —                | —                               | —             | —                           | —   | —     | —      |   |
| Natal—               |              |                          |                  |                                     |                          |                  |                                 |               |                             |   |       |        |   |
| D'Urban . . .        | 1841         | 6                        | —                | 163                                 | 45                       | 5                | 223                             | 1             | 50                          | 122   | 101   | 223    | 2,235   |
| Pietermaritzberg . . | 1846         | 6                        | 5                | 122                                 | 11                       | 2                | 110                             | 2             | 45                          | 60  | 50    | 110    | 400   |
| Kwangubeni . . .     | 1849         | 4                        | —                | 29                                  | 4                        | 3                | 30                              | 1             | 10                          | 20  | 10    | 30     | 5,000   |
| Indaleni . . .       | 1849         | 2                        | —                | 38                                  | 1                        | 2                | 125                             | 1             | —                           | 53  | 72    | 125    | 2,900   |
| Totals . . .         |              | 491                      | 143              | 4,284                               | 568                      | 92               | 7,242                           | 57            | 3,699                       | 3,636   | 4,171 | 7,807  | 58,525  |

Note.—There are two Printing Offices belonging to the Mission, one at King William's Town, and one at Plaatberg, in the Sovereignty.

were told that the powerful Bassuto chief, Moshesh, urgently desired that missionaries should be sent to instruct his tribe. The new-comers proceeded to his country, and on arriving near Thaba Bossion, received a forcible proof that their presence, though unlooked for, would be welcome, by meeting a large herd of oxen proceeding to the colony by order of Moshesh, there to be disposed of in exchange for

a missionary. From that day to this, the Bassuto chief has protected and upheld the ministers of the gospel; but though he listens attentively and with reverence to their teaching, he has not yet been prevailed upon to avow himself converted to a creed which would require the renunciation of polygamy, and consequently of forty-nine out of the fifty wives he is at present reported to possess. (Freeman, p. 311.)

# 152 FRENCH, LONDON, RHENISH, AND GLASGOW MISSION STATIONS.

There are now twenty French missionaries in South Africa, all of whom, with the exception of the single station at Wellington, near the Cape, are distributed among the Bechuanaas, but chiefly among the Bassutos; almost all are married, and, with their families, number about ninety persons. They have founded the stations of Béthulie, Carmel, Beersheba, Morija, Thaba Bossiou, Béréé, Hebron, Hermon, Cana, Mekuatling, Bethesda, and Motito. The total number of communicants connected with them is about 1,000; the number baptized about twice as many. Bechuana labourers are much esteemed in the colony, especially such as bring with them recommendations from mission stations. From Morija alone more than 300 labourers went into the colony

during 1851, all of whom had received religious instruction. The missionaries have translated the four Evangelists, the Acts, the Psalms, and other portions of the Bible, into the widely-disseminated Sichuana tongue, concerning which one of them (M<sup>r</sup> Casalis) has published a remarkable work. The yearly expenditure of the society upon its African missions is £3,000. (For the above particulars I am indebted to M. le Pasteur, J. H. Grand Pierre. The efforts of the London Society (Independents) are second only to those of the Wesleyan in extent and importance; their stations in South Africa are shown in the following table: their annual expenditure there is £7,000, and their aggregate outlay, since 1812, has been £266,154 : 16s.

| Station.                                 | Com-<br>menced. | Popula-<br>tion. | Language.                    | Congre-<br>gation. | Church<br>members. | Scholars. |
|--|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>Within the colony:—</i>               |                 |                  |                              |                    |                    |           |
| Barrack Street, Cape }<br>Town . . . . . | 1812            | —                | Dutch and English . . . .    | 200                | 23                 | 500       |
| Paarl . . . . .                          | 1819            | —                | Dutch . . . . .              | 800                | 100                | 200       |
| Caledon . . . . .                        | 1815            | 1,166            | Ditto . . . . .              | 400                | 262                | 250       |
| Pacaltsdorp . . . . .                    | 1813            | 572              | Ditto . . . . .              | 259                | 73                 | 140       |
| Dysalsdorp . . . . .                     | 1837            | —                | Ditto . . . . .              | 280                | 91                 | 123       |
| Hankey . . . . .                         | 1824            | 1,036            | Ditto . . . . .              | 500                | 186                | 300       |
| Bethelsdorp . . . . .                    | 1807            | 430              | Ditto . . . . .              | 259                | 109                | 130       |
| Port Elizabeth . . . . .                 | 1828            | —                | Dutch and English . . . .    | —                  | 70                 | 230       |
| Uitenhage . . . . .                      | 1828            | 800              | Kafir and Bassuto . . . .    | 500                | 230                | 234       |
| Graham's Town . . . . .                  | 1828            | —                | Dutch . . . . .              | 500                | 262                | 135       |
| Graaf Reynet . . . . .                   | 1806            | —                | Dutch and Kafir . . . . .    | 250                | 65                 | 140       |
| Theapolis . . . . .                      | 1814            | 350              | Dutch . . . . .              | 200                | 50                 | 139       |
| Colesberg . . . . .                      | 1840            | 979              | Ditto . . . . .              | 200                | 40                 | 79        |
| Somerset . . . . .                       | 1842            | —                | Ditto . . . . .              | 200                | 155                | 130       |
| Kat River . . . . .                      | 1817            | 2,700            | English, Dutch, and Kafir .  | 700                | 730 <sup>1</sup>   | 600       |
| Tidmanton . . . . .                      | 1839            | 622              | Ditto . . . . .              | 500                | 150                | 210       |
| Cradock . . . . .                        | 1839            | 2,200            | Ditto . . . . .              | 215                | 33                 | 125       |
| Long Kloof . . . . .                     | 1840            | —                | Dutch . . . . .              | 300                | 73                 | 313       |
| Fort Beaufort . . . . .                  | 1848            | —                | English, Dutch, and Kafir .  | 500                | 146                | 300       |
| George . . . . .                         | —               | —                | —                            | —                  | —                  | —         |
| <i>Beyond the colony:—</i>               |                 |                  |                              |                    |                    |           |
| King William's Town . . . . .            | 1826            | —                | Dutch and Kafir . . . . .    | 330                | 146                | 146       |
| Knapp's Hope . . . . .                   | 1835            | 174              | Kafir . . . . .              | 100                | 22                 | 50        |
| Peulton . . . . .                        | 1848            | —                | Ditto . . . . .              | 200                | 52                 | 120       |
| Griqua Town . . . . .                    | 1806            | 3,600            | Dutch, Sichuana, and Coranna | 1,180              | 550                | 830       |
| Lekatlong . . . . .                      | 1840            | 1,183            | Sichuana . . . . .           | 700                | 300                | 300       |
| Philippolis . . . . .                    | 1825            | 5,200            | Dutch and Sichuana . . . .   | 450                | —                  | 70        |
| Kuruman . . . . .                        | 1816            | 2,492            | Sichuana . . . . .           | 300                | 161                | 168       |
| Mamusa . . . . .                         | 1846            | 8,200            | Sichuana and Sakosa . . . .  | 230                | 115                | 230       |
| Mabotsa . . . . .                        | 1843            | —                | Sichuana . . . . .           | —                  | 7                  | 20        |
| Kalobeng . . . . .                       | 1847            | 3,281            | Ditto . . . . .              | 400                | —                  | 50        |
| Matebe . . . . .                         | 1847            | 2,000            | Ditto . . . . .              | 100                | 7                  | 50        |

Note.—<sup>1</sup> Broken up and abandoned in consequence of the war.—<sup>2</sup> Including out-stations.

The Rhenish Missionary Stations in the colony and Namaqualand have wrought much good, as have also, though on a smaller scale, the Berlin, and especially the Glasgow missionaries, whose labours among the Kafirs have been so sadly interrupted by the renewal of war. In the course of the foregoing pages, many missionaries have been incidentally mentioned in connection with their writings and public labours. To enumerate these, and add to them the names of those who have distinguished themselves by their exertions in the same cause, would indeed offer a long and glorious list, from which, however, even then many omissions might be made from ignorance. It only remains to pay a passing tribute to the valuable labours of the late Rev. C.

J. Latrobe, of the Moravian; of Campbell, Moffat, and Livingston, of the London; of Shaw, and others of the Wesleyan; and of Niven of the Glasgow Mission.

EDUCATION was formerly much neglected; in one district, in 1812, only 100 children in 3,400 were under instruction; and it is to be feared the rest of the colony was as badly provided for. Schools are now numerous; those receiving some aid from government, comprised, in 1850, 6,350 male, and 5,576 female scholars; the contributions by government, fixed and contingent, amounted in 1851 to about £7,000. Each district has a government free-school.

A South African College, founded in 1829, and ably superintended for several years by Dr. Adamson, is in operation, but awaits the restoration of



internal tranquillity for its establishment on a broader basis. The bishop of Cape Town has purchased a house, with fifty acres of adjoining land, for the erection of a Collegiate Institution, in connection with the Church of England. Dr. Gray, the present diocesan, has spared no exertion to administer to the spiritual and educational wants of the members of his church, and recently made a tour of 4,000 miles to make himself acquainted with its condition and necessities. The hardships incurred in this remarkable journey, prove that the diocese is beyond the powers of any one pastor. Natal will, it is understood, be formed into a separate see.

**NEWSPAPERS.**—Nine at Cape Town, three at Graham's Town, three at Port Elizabeth, one at Cradock, and one at Bloem-Fontein, in the Orange River sovereignty. There are several monthly and annual periodicals; one, *The Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, contains useful statistical information.

**CRIME.**—The number of male convicts in the colony, sentenced for various crimes to imprisonment with hard labour, was, for the five years ending 1848, 1,089. Annual average 224, or 1 in 893 of the colonial population. Of the foregoing 11 were for murder, 30 for culpable homicide, 2 for assault with intent to commit murder, 88 for assault, 16 for rape, &c.; 155 house-breaking, 16 robbery; 711 cattle, horse, and sheep stealing; 6 forgery, 4 perjury; 13 military desertion, 6 drunkenness and military insubordination. The police returns of Cape Town for one year (ending June, 1850) show that of 1,329 male convicts, 1,157 could neither read nor write, and but 39 could read and write well. Of 276 female convicts, 244 could neither read nor write. Mr. Montague, on assuming the office of colonial secretary in 1843, laid down, and successfully carried out, a just and humane system of prison discipline, which has tended to check crime, to promote reformation, and to make the labour of the prisoners conduce to the public weal by employing them in the construction of roads, where, on an average, about 500 men are daily occupied at a cost of £12,000 a year, which is about the value of their labour. No violent coercion is used; and criminals are encouraged to return to a life of industry and virtue by a judicious system of rewards.

**CHRONOLOGY OF LEADING EVENTS.**—Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, 1486; occupation by the Dutch E. I. Com., 1652; Gamtoos River declared the E. boundary, 1770; E. boundary extended to the Fish River, 1780; British take possession on behalf of the Prince of Orange, 1795; Sir James Craig made gov., 1795; Earl of Macartney (gov.), 1797; Sir Francis Dundas (lt.-gov.), 1798; Sir George Young (gov.), 1799; Sir Francis Dundas (lt.-gov.), 1801; colony ceded to Batavian government, 1803; Gen. Janssens (gov.) 1803; conquest by Great Britain, 1806; Sir David Baird (gov.), 1806; Hon. H. G. Grey (lt.-gov.), 1807; Earl of Caledon (gov.), 1807; Sir F. Cradock (gov.), 1811; first Kafir war, 1811-'12; Lord C. H. Somerset (gov.), 1814; Col. Brereton's commando, 1818; second Kafir war, 1819; extension of colony to the Keiskamma, 1819; Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin (act.-gov.), 1820; four thousand British emigrants arrived, 1820; Lord C. H. Somerset (returned from England), 1821; Sir Richard Bourke (lt.-gov.), 1828; fiftieth ordinance enacted, 1828; Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (gov.), 1828; expulsion of Macomo from his land on the Kat River, 1829; Hottentot settlement formed on the Kat River, 1829; Lt.-col. F. F. Wade (act.-gov.), 1833; Sir Benjamin D'Urban (gov.), 1834;

slave emancipation, 1834; third Kafir war, 1834-'35; Hintza slain, May, 1835; colony extended to the Kei, Sept., 1835; great emigration of the boers, 1835-'36; Sir A. Stockenström appointed gov. of the Eastern Province, 1836; country between the Kei and Keiskamma restored, and treaties entered into with Kafirs, 1836; Sir G. T. Napier (gov.), 1838; Sir Peregrine Maitland (gov.), 1844; alteration of Kafir treaties, 1844; fourth Kafir war, 1846; Sir Henry Pottinger (gov.), and resumption of hostilities, 1847; Sir H. G. W. Smith (gov.), 1847; assumption of Orange River Sovereignty, 1848; anti-convict agitation, 1849; attempt to seize Sandilli, and fifth Kafir war, Dec., 1850-'51; Gen. Cathcart (gov.), 1852; recognition of independence of boers in the Grensgebied, 1852; representative constitution conceded to the Cape Col., 1852.

**CONCLUSION.**—The peninsula of Africa, with its southern cape midway between Europe and Asia, and also between England and Australia, communicating with the Atlantic on the west, and with the Indian Ocean on the east, occupies a maritime position of the highest importance. In addition to a vast extent of upland soil, park-like downs, and sheltered vales; a climate well adapted to the English constitution, and so fine and dry as to necessitate no winter provender or shelter for sheep or cattle,—it affords suitable temperature for an endless variety of culture, by means of proximity to the ocean on either shore, and by the diversified elevation of its lofty mountains and immense plateaux; here wheat (bringing nearly the best price in the London market) may be grown to an incalculable extent; there two crops of maize or millet may be annually reaped. The vine flourishes over large tracts, and where the grape ripens, the olive and mulberry will thrive; animal food of the best quality abounds, and the fishery on L'Agulhas bank is scarcely inferior to that of Newfoundland. The sugar-cane, tea and coffee plants, flax, and cotton, may be eventually added to the present staple colonial products; minerals of several descriptions are known to exist, and gold will, I doubt not, be obtained in several localities. Enjoying these and other advantages, the material prosperity of this fine colony seems to depend, under providence, upon the adoption of a conciliatory and just system towards the aboriginal races. No greater benefits could accrue to the colonists than would be derived from the steady progress of the frontier tribes, while their civilization would doubtless rapidly spread to more distant nations, and aid directly in the extension of those Christian doctrines by whose holy influence Africa can alone be relieved from the curse under which she has groaned for ages.

## BOOK II.—NATAL.

### CHAPTER I.

#### HISTORY AND OCCUPATION AS A BRITISH COLONY.

THE territory thus designated from the discovery of the inlet of Port Natal, by the Portuguese, on Christmas-day, 1498, is situated on the south-eastern coast of Africa, to the north-eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. (The leading features of its history are given in small type to economize space.)

In October, 1689, the governor and council of the Cape ordered the commander of an expedition (despatched in the galliot *Noord*, to explore the south-eastern coast, as far as Delagoa Bay), "to buy from Ingese, the chief, the Bay of Natal, and the adjacent country, for beads, copper, cutlery, or what might please the natives, to the value of 29,000 guilders.\* In December, 1690, the purchase was made for merchandise to the alleged value of 20,000 guilders. The extent of the land acquired is not stated.† The Directors of the East India Company then declared Natal a dependency of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope. An expedition left Cape Town 14th of February, 1721, to establish a trading post there, but being unable to find the place, settled at Delagoa Bay instead. No other attempt at occupation appears to have been made by the Dutch from this period to the 19th of January, 1806, when Governor Janssens surrendered to His Britannic Majesty "the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with its dependencies, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government." England evinced no desire to take possession of Natal; but the reports of shipwrecked persons and traders drew attention to the place, which Dampier had described, in the 17th century, as a very eligible position. Captain (now Admiral) W. F. W. Owen, during his survey and exploration of the eastern coast of Africa, in 1822-5, advised the establishment of trade with this part of the coast.

In 1823, I met, at the Cape of Good Hope, a Lieutenant Farewell, R.N., who was very sanguine in his expectations of becoming a great chief at Natal. On proceeding thither, in September, 1823, he found that Chaka, the celebrated Zoolu leader, had conquered the country, destroyed or driven away the native inhabitants, and formed his military station within 100 to 150 miles of Port Natal. Farewell, who was favourably received by Chaka, returned to the Cape, and obtained permission from Lord C. Somerset to endeavour to establish commercial intercourse, but was told that the acquisition of territorial rights could not be sanctioned except after full examination of the circumstances under which they might be offered, and were intended to be received. He then, accompanied by a Mr. Fynn, several

Europeans, and some Hottentots, returned to Natal, and, on the 14th of September, 1824, informed Lord C. Somerset that Chaka had expressed great pleasure at his coming to reside there; and had made him "a sale and grant of a part of his country in that neighbourhood" (amounting, it is said, to about 2,000,000 acres), and freely given a number of cattle for the support of his party.‡ The territory thus bestowed had, however, just been ravished from its native owners, of whom some hundreds appear to have still remained.

Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, and King (the commander of a trading brig), made great exertions to establish a British community; but their efforts were not only coolly received, but even ungenerously checked. On one occasion they built a small vessel at Natal out of their scanty resources—their own ship having been wrecked at the entrance of the harbour. The new craft was named the *Chaka*, freighted with ivory, &c., and sent to Algoa Bay, where it was seized by the authorities, and left to rot on the beach, *because she had no register*§. The little band, persevered, nevertheless, in their proceedings; and being thus prevented from holding communication with the colony by sea, opened up a route by land, between Natal and Graham's Town.

In one of the early attempts made to establish this line of communication, Lieutenant Farewell and his party were murdered by a treacherous chief, a little to the eastward of the Umzimvoobu River, in 1829. This was a melancholy termination to the career of one who had proved a useful pioneer in the foundation of a promising settlement.

Chaka had perished shortly before, having been stabbed in his own kraal, in September, 1828. The latter acts of his life had been a series of atrocities, which, if one-half of them be true, give to this heathen tyrant a fearful pre-eminence over a Nero or Domitian in the amount of suffering inflicted. A few months before his assassination, Chaka sent about 30,000 fighting men to the eastward and northward of Mozambique, for the express purpose, as it is supposed, of weakening his own tribe, and exercising upon them more than his usual brutality. This force marched with provision only for the advance, and with orders not to fight until it was expended. The tribe against whom they proposed to war, drove off the whole of their cattle, and having surprised and cut to pieces a detachment of about 8,000 Zoolus, necessitated the remainder to retire. The invading force was subsequently so reduced by famine and casualties, that not more than 10,000 are supposed to have returned to their country. Chaka, on learning their ill success, ordered the massacre of 2,000 of the wives of the defeated warriors, at the rate of 300

\* Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; p. 95. † *Idem*.

‡ Parl. Papers, June, 1835; p. 96. § *Idem*, part ii., p. 97.



a day. These and other almost incredible excesses led to the formation of the conspiracy against him, headed by his brother Dingaan, the fatal result of which has been stated.

Such is the account given by Sir Lowry Cole, on the authority of Lieutenant Farewell, of the conduct of Chaka, and the circumstances which led to his death. But more intimate acquaintance with native character and customs affords reason for doubting its authenticity. In the first place, Chaka is described, by later authorities, as having been popular among his own subjects, the Zoolus or Amazoolus, whom, from a very small and insignificant tribe, he had rendered a powerful and dreaded people. Like most great conquerors and slave owners, he was utterly reckless of the value of human life, except as a means necessary to the accomplishment of his own ends; and an abundant supply of "bone and sinew" never failed him, since he had only to make war upon some small neighbouring clan, slay the chiefs, or degrade them to the position of cowherds, and incorporate their people, (whose very name was thenceforth obliterated) among his own tribe. So perfectly unfettered was this South African tyrant by any humane scruples in the accomplishment of his purposes, that, on a sudden demand for ivory, he would order out large bodies of his warriors, and compel them to rush in upon a herd of elephants while grazing, though these attempts frequently involved the destruction of several hundred lives. Still he is said not to have been bloodthirsty, and therefore would scarcely have put 2,000 unoffending women of his own tribe to death. The story, again, is incredible, because, among the Zoolus, *married men* composed a sort of trained militia, and were never sent out on commandoes or warlike expeditions, except in cases of extreme emergency. For these and other reasons, it seems probable that the fate of Chaka was immediately caused by the ambition and treachery of Dingaan, who slew him, and procured himself to be named his successor by a majority of the chiefs. Dingaan was less bold and talented than his brother, but far more crafty and cruel. Dr. Andrew Smith, who resided about a week in his kraal, in 1830, declared that he saw "portions of the bodies of eleven of his own wives, whom he had only a few days previous put to death, merely for having uttered words which annoyed him." The same witness attests the fact of his "murdering, torturing, and destroying hundreds of his own subjects in the course of a day."\* Dingaan, however, professed great friendship to the English, and desired the formation of a trading post, for a very obvious reason. Ivory, the chief article sought for by traders, was, according to Zoolu law, regarded as the exclusive property of the king, who, consequently, as the principal dealer, was solicitous for the continuance and increase of a profitable traffic.

Captain Campbell,† the civil commissioner of Albany, strongly advised the British occupation of the Natal territory; but no heed was paid to his representations, or to those of several English settlers, who knew the value of the country, having been residing there since 1824.

In 1830, the Americans opened a trade with Natal, and landed a quantity of muskets, cutlasses, gunpowder, and salt; and a rumour was circulated that the government of the United States intended to form a settlement on this part of the coast.

In June, 1834, the merchants and other inhabitants of Cape Town addressed a memorial to the king in council, praying that measures might be taken for the occupation of Port Natal and the depopulated country in its vicinity. This was sent by Sir B. D'Urban to Mr. Spring Rice, at that time Colonial Secretary. The memorial was supported by an able, conclusive, and statesmanlike document, drawn up by Dr. Andrew Smith, then staff-assistant-surgeon in South Africa, who had recently returned from an exploratory tour in Natal. The prayer of the memorial was rejected, on the ground that the finances of the Cape colony could not bear any additional expense; although all that was required was, the stationing of a magistrate, and a few police or soldiers to maintain order, ample funds for which would have been furnished by the gradual sale of territory in moderate allotments, even after the deduction of liberal reserves, both in land and money, for the sustenance of the few and scattered native proprietors.

In 1834-5, Captain Allen F. Gardiner, R.N. (whose Christian sufferings and death on the inhospitable shores of Terra del Fuego, in 1851, are so well known), proceeded to South Africa, with a view to the introduction of Christianity among the Zoolus and other native tribes.‡ He was well received by Dingaan, who, on the 3rd of May, 1835, entered into a convention with him and about fourteen resident Englishmen, by which he waived all claim to the person and property of any native who should have deserted from him to reside with the Europeans at Port Natal. It is alleged that Dingaan then made an extensive grant of territory (7,000,000 acres) to Captain Gardiner, inclusive of that which Chaka had previously presented to Lieutenant Farewell. General D'Urban signified to Dingaan, in writing, his approval of the convention, and promised to send an officer, on the part of the king of England, to reside at Natal in the absence of Captain Gardiner, who had proceeded to Europe.

The British traders and residents, now considering themselves securely established, commenced the laying out of a town, which they called D'Urban. They set aside 3,000 acres of land for the endowment of a clergyman of the Church of England, and collected subscriptions for the construction of a church; selected a site for the erection of a free school, and appropriated 2,000 acres for its support, and 3,000 for the formation of an hospital. A town committee was organized, and the rudiments of municipal government introduced. Cultivation was extended, and trade increased; still the British government refused to recognise the existence of the small but prosperous settlement, planted by its energetic subjects. Circumstances, however, compelled that which principle and policy ought to have dictated. The boers, on the frontier of the Cape Colony, having resolved to *trek*, or migrate, in search of new homesteads and fresh pastures, sent out an exploring expedition to ascertain the most eligible location. The favourable report brought back by their agents respecting Natal; the exaggerated reports circulated within the colony, respecting its really considerable natural advantages; and the tacit refusal of the government to acknowledge it as a British settlement, induced the migration of about 1,000 boers, with their wives, children, servants, waggons, horses, oxen and flocks, under the guidance of Pieter Retief, Maritz, and Uys. On

\* Parl. Papers, 1st June, 1835; part ii., p. 100.

† *Idem*, p. 57.

‡ *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country*, by Captain Allen F. Gardiner, R.N. 8vo. London: 1836.

arriving, in October, 1837, within a few days' journey of Dingaan's kraal, the party encamped, and their leaders had an interview with the crafty chief, who agreed to grant land to them, provided they recovered some cattle for him from his enemy Sinkonyella, a Mantatee ruler. This they appear to have done. They were then suffered to remain unmolested, offering alliance and friendship to the English settlers at D'Urban. Dingaan granted to the new comers the land between the Umzimcoolu and Tukela Rivers, which had been previously given to Farewell and Gardiner; and invited Retief, on the 6th of December, 1837, to witness a sham fight, requiring however, that he and his body-guard should attend unarmed. Maritz and others advised Retief not to go; but in vain. At a pre-concerted signal, Retief, and all his attendants, 100 in number, were massacred; and a strong party of Zoolus was sent to surprise the Dutch camp, which was done effectually; and many of the inmates perished. The numbers slain are stated to be 120 boors, 55 women (their wives), 191 children, and 250 Hottentots and other servants.

After this, the English settlers joined the boors against Dingaan, sent a commando into his country, and brought off about 4,000 head of cattle, and 500 women. The Zoolus retaliated; attacked the English settlement; killed about 13 Europeans; obliged the remainder to flee; and seized all the property in D'Urban.

Maritz, who succeeded Retief, had still with him 640 white men fit to bear arms, 3,200 women and children, and 1,269 blacks. His camp consisted of about 1,000 waggons, 3,000 horses, 40,000 cattle, and 30,000 sheep.

Animated by a strong desire to revenge the death of Retief and their friends, the boors met and fought the Zoolus with great fury, and after a series of contests, defeated them with much slaughter. Their leader sued for peace, restored some prisoners and horses he had taken, and assigned over the whole territory of Natal to the conquerors.

In a subsequent conflict, Dingaan was supposed to have fallen with a body of his men, in a ravine where he was hemmed in and fired upon by the boors; but it has since been asserted that he escaped and proceeded to the northward, and eventually perished in a contest with a petty native chief. After his downfall, some of the various tribes, forcibly comprised by Chaca under the denomination of Zoolus, again separated under chiefs of their own. The principal of these were the Quabies, over whom their chief, Panda (whom Chaca had made one of his cow-herds), resumed authority.

In December, 1838, the governor of the Cape resolved to despatch a small military force by sea to Natal, for the restoration of order, and to take possession of the place in the Queen's name. The troops were sent under the command of Major Charteris, but recalled to the Cape, after being a few months at Natal, without having effected any object whatever. The boors were then absent, and engaged up the country in warfare with Dingaan, which having brought to a satisfactory conclusion, they returned, and finding that the British troops had quitted the place, they took possession of the deserted buildings at D'Urban, settled down unmolested, and founded their town under the name of Pieter-Maritzburg, the present capital of the colony. Towards the end of 1839, Maritz, the president, and seven members of the assembly, entrusted with the management of their

affairs, put forth a manifesto, stating the causes which had brought them to Natal; declaring that the soil had been bought with their blood; that they would hold it until subdued and slain; and that emigrants arriving without their consent should be treated as enemies. A correspondence was commenced between them and the governor at Cape Town, but led to no definite result.

In the beginning of 1841, the governor sent from Graham's Town, by land, under the command of Captain Smith, a force consisting of 150 men of the 27th regiment, 50 of the Cape mounted rifles, and a small detachment of artillery and engineers with two or three guns, to take up a position on the Umgazi, near the Umzimvoobu River, for the purpose of protecting the native chiefs in that quarter against the attacks of the Natal immigrants, who, about this time, formally declared that they had renounced their allegiance to the British government, were an independent state, and were establishing diplomatic relations with European powers. To permit the formation of a hostile settlement at the only port between Algoa and Delagoa Bays, and the high road from the coast to the interior of Southern Africa, was manifestly impossible; Captain Smith was therefore ordered to push forward with his detachment from the Umzimvoobu to Port Natal, which place he reached in May, 1842. The boors did not at first forcibly oppose British occupation, but commenced seizing their cattle and herds, and closing around their encampment. Their leader then ordered the English to retire from the place. Captain Smith refused to withdraw; and having failed in a night attack, a desperate contest ensued, in which he was defeated, with a loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounting to one-third of his few soldiers, and a considerable proportion of guns and stores. He then entrenched his men within a rude barricade of waggons and a breast-work of earth; and by means of a bold and trustworthy messenger named King, forwarded to Graham's Town an account of his position. The boors are said to have had 130 killed and 70 wounded; but this is probably much beyond the truth. They closely besieged the English troops; cut off all communication by land: seized two vessels that were in the bay; and kept up an almost unceasing assault on the small but resolute force, who defended themselves bravely, refusing all terms of capitulation, though reduced to eat horseflesh, or anything that would sustain life. The governor, on receiving intelligence of these disasters, forthwith despatched a frigate and troop-ship, with a strong reinforcement of the 25th regiment, under Colonel Cloete. The boors were unable to withstand the fire of the heavy guns of the frigate, and the rockets, and, after an ineffectual attempt to prevent the landing of their opponents, fled in confusion; the troops disembarked, and were received with grateful cheers by their brave comrades, at length set free, after a long month of peril and privation. The British flag was permanently hoisted, and Colonel Cloete granted an amnesty to all the boors who would surrender, except three of the leaders. This was by some accepted; but the majority fled across the Drakenberg range, and joined their countrymen on the Vaal River. No alternative now remained but to establish the actual sovereignty of England over Natal.

On the 31st of May, 1844, letters patent were issued, annexing the district to the Cape Colony. By subsequent letters patent dated, 31st of April, 1845, Natal was made a distinct and separate government;



but power was still entrusted to the authorities of the Cape colony to make laws for the new province, should it be deemed necessary. On the 2nd of March, 1847, a royal charter was conceded, whereby the power granted to the Cape legislature was revoked, and vested in the officer administering the government of Natal, and in certain public functionaries, who were to constitute a legislative council.\*

Dissatisfaction arose for want of timely arrangements with respect to the farms which the remaining boors claimed; and in January, 1848, they quitted Natal in large numbers. Sir H. Smith says: "I was almost paralyzed to witness the whole of the population, with few exceptions, *treking* (emigrating), exposed to a state of misery which I never before saw equalled, except in Massena's invasion of Portugal, when the whole of the population of that part of the seat of war abandoned their homes and fled." The rains were then extremely heavy, and the country was intersected by considerable streams, which were frequently impassable. Three or four hundred fathers of large families assembled, and, with tears, represented their grievances to the governor. They alleged that they had abandoned their houses, the gardens planted with their own hands, and the standing crops, to seek a home in the wilderness, because they were refused a title to land, or even permission

to purchase it. Sir H. Smith promptly appointed a land commission to investigate their grievances; and nominated, as one of the members, A. W. J. Pretorius, the leader of the emigrants, who was then greatly excited in consequence of having vainly proceeded from Natal to Graham's Town to place the position of his countrymen before the then governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who unwisely and ungraciously refused him an audience. Sir H. Smith ordered that farms, not exceeding 6,000 acres, should be given to such of the original emigrants as had strong and peculiar claims to this indulgence; or, in ordinary cases, that they should be allowed to purchase the same extent of land. This measure but partially checked the emigration movement towards the Vaal River, as the boors had become exceedingly averse to the British government;† while the lavish grants made in consequence, could scarcely fail to retard the progress of the infant colony, by injuring its first resource, the land-fund.

Between March, 1848, and December, 1850, a large immigration took place: 35 vessels, containing 3,812 emigrants, and 12 vessels from London and Liverpool, whose passengers are not stated, having arrived at Natal within that period. The settlement is now fairly established, and is desirous of obtaining a Representative Government.

## CHAPTER II.

### POSITION, AREA, PHYSICAL FEATURES, DIVISIONS, TOWNS—CLIMATE, GEOLOGY, SOIL—GOVERNMENT, LAWS, POPULATION, LANDS, REVENUE, COMMERCE, AND GENERAL VIEW.

THE COLONY OF NATAL lies between  $27^{\circ} 10'$  and  $30^{\circ} 40'$  S. lat., and between  $29^{\circ}$  and  $31^{\circ} 10'$  E. long. It is bounded on the eastward by the Indian Ocean, on the westward by the Quathlamba, Kathlamba, or Drakenberg range; on the north and north-east by the Buffalo, or Umziyati, and its prolongation, the Utukela, or Tugela River; and on the south by the southern branch of the Umzimkulu, or Umzimkuluana, which separates it from the territories of the Kafir chief, Faku. The length from north-west to south-east is about 200 miles, the breadth between the coast and the mountains varies from 60 to 120 miles; the area is estimated at 18,000 square miles. The coast-line extends in a north-east and south-west direction for 200 miles, affording sheltered anchorage only at Port Natal, which is situated about midway.

PHYSICAL FEATURES.—A marked character is imparted to Natal by the lofty and table-topped

Quathlamba chain, which forms a background from whence numerous offshoots stretch out, generally from west to east, in some instances approaching the sea-shore and dividing the country into distinct portions. From the main range, as well as from the lateral spurs, numerous streams descend by short and generally direct courses to the ocean, affording never-failing supplies of water, and extraordinary facilities for irrigation. The land exhibits successive terraces rising from the coast to the mountains, occasionally broken by rocky gorges and steep ravines.

Dr. Andrew Smith, who traversed this region in 1830, declared the principal part of it to be well fitted either for grazing or agriculture, and added, "such an effect was produced upon one of my party (a Dutch farmer), on our entrance into this beautiful country, that for several days he could scarcely give utterance to anything but, 'Almighty! I have never in my life seen such a fine place. I shall never again reside in the colony, if the English government make this a drostdy.'" The more westerly portion presents numerous extensive flats, thickly covered with luxuriant grass, and abounding in watercourses. The middle and eastern districts exhibit a broken and undulating surface, dotted

\* Parl. Papers, July, 1848.

† Parl. Papers, July, 1848; pp. 212-14.

over with low knolls, in some places clustered together, in others separate, connected by rich meadows, in many of which water is seen oozing out in every direction, so that what the traveller in other parts of South Africa watches for with anxious solicitude, here constitutes a positive inconvenience. Some of the rivers whose sources are far in the interior, are of considerable size, and commonly run in deep channels with rather precipitous banks. Timber trees exist everywhere in sufficiency, but are most plentiful towards the eastern and western boundaries, in which situations considerable forests are met with free from the great proportion of underwood found in those of the Cape Colony. (*Vide* Dr. Smith's memorandum, Parl. Papers, June, 1835, part ii., p. 99.)

**MOUNTAINS.**—The Quathlamba, or, as they are here called, the Drakenberg Mountains, are considered by Dr. Stanger, the surveyor-general of Natal, to consist of two distinct ranges, differing in geological structure and direction; the Great Drakenberg constituting the western, the Lesser Drakenberg, the north-western boundary of Natal. The average altitude of the latter is 5,000 feet above the sea, and about 1,500 feet above the general level of the country at its base. The outline is in general round and soft, presenting some remarkable features, and occasionally high table-lands with precipitous sides. These mountains are composed of beds of sandstone cut through by veins of trap; according to Dr. Stanger, they diminish in height as they advance towards the north-east, until at some distance beyond the source of the *Umzinyati River*, they appear to terminate in low hills. They are traversible in various places by horses and cattle; but De Beer's Pass, in  $28^{\circ} 20' S.$  lat.,  $28^{\circ} 52' E.$  long., is the only one in common use for waggons. There is another near Bezuidenhout's farm, in  $28^{\circ} 33' S.$  lat., and  $28^{\circ} 44' E.$  long., which is just practicable, and is sometimes, though rarely, resorted to by farmers or travellers, in ponderous unmanageable waggons, with their teams of twelve to eighteen oxen. Timber abounds in the kloofs, and on the south-eastern side of these heights. On the north-west the country forms a plain of considerable elevation.

The Great Drakenberg joins the Lesser Drakenberg ten or twelve miles to the south-west of Bezuidenhout's farm, and is much loftier, and quite impassable, presenting a rugged outline and bold precipitous escarpments, and being apparently of granitic formation. The summit of the Drakenberg is a table-land which extends for about 500 miles; in travelling from the Orange River Sovereignty, towards the mountains, there is an undulating country with occasional hills, giving no indication of a lofty plateau; but suddenly, on arriving at the top of one of these ridges, the whole country of Natal is seen below, with an apparently perpendicular descent of several thousand feet.

The **RIVERS** of this part of South-eastern Africa may be conveniently classed under three heads, according to the distance of their sources from the ocean, and elevation above its level; unfortunately, none of them are navigable, but all more or less barred at the mouth. The first class includes the *Utukela*, the *Umzinkulu* or *Umzimcooloo*, and the *Umzinwoobu*, which either through their own channels, or those of their tributaries, drain the Drakenberg mountains. Of these, the principal is the *Utukela*, whose chief source, the *Buffalo*, or *Umzin-*

*yati*, which bounds Natal on the north, rises at the base of the Small Drakenberg, and pursues a south-eastern direction to its confluence with the *Utukela*, entering the Indian Ocean in  $29^{\circ} 18' S.$  lat., after a course of about 150 miles. Among the tributaries of the *Utukela* are the *Blue Kranz* or *Umsuluzi*, the *Bushmans*, the *Mooi* or *Impafane*, and others which join it on either bank, forming a considerable volume of water. The *Umzinkulu*, on the southern boundary, is a much smaller stream, about eighty miles in length.

The second class of rivers, such as the *Umvoti*, the *Umgeni*, and the *Umkomanzi*, have shorter courses, and drain a country having an elevation of about 2,000 or 2,500 feet. The third, and most numerous class, rise at a height of 1,500 feet, or less, above the sea-level, and are very inconsiderable in size. The abundant irrigation of this coast may be understood from the fact, that in travelling from the *St. Lucie River* on the north of Natal, in about  $28^{\circ} 30' S.$  lat., to the Great Kei River of Kafirland, in about  $32^{\circ} 40'$ , there are more than 150 rivers or watercourses to be crossed.

**DIVISIONS.**—The explored portion of Natal has been divided into six magistracies, and sites for towns and villages have been selected by the local authorities, (Dr. Stanger the surveyor-general, Mr. Shepstone the diplomatic agent to the native tribes, and Lieutenant Gibb, R.N.,) from whose report the following statements are chiefly derived:

*D'Urban Division* includes the township of D'Urban, the seaport of the province, which is built on the shores of Port Natal. The town is laid out for 450 allotments, and when visited by the bishop of Cape Town, in 1850, was rapidly increasing in the number of its buildings and population (*Journal* for 1850, p. 51.) There are many extensive stores, and a large amount of business is carried on. The bay of Natal, which is about three miles long, by two and-a-half broad, is easy of access for vessels not drawing more than eight feet of water for the last of the flood tide; on its bar there are eleven feet at high water spring tides, and occasionally a greater depth. Vessels of 400 tons cross the bar, and find good holding-ground outside until the tide serves. Inside the harbour is perfectly sheltered from all winds, and sufficiently large even at present to contain a considerable fleet, with soundings of nine to eleven fathoms, sandy bottom.\* It has been proposed to deepen the entrance by a steam dredger, as has been done at the harbour of Adelaide, South Australia. M. Delargorgue suggests rendering the entire port a wet dock, by erecting tidal lock-gates, which, when opened, would cause the water to force a deep passage over the bar. Dr. Stanger advocates a process founded on a somewhat similar principle. He argues that the bar being formed by the tide in ebbing out of the bay, meeting with the coast current, and its velocity being thus diminished, and, consequently, its transporting power causing the deposition of sand, a stream dredger would be inefficient unless constantly kept at work. The only way to permanently remove the bar, he considers to be by increasing the velocity of the ebb tide to such an extent that, on coming in contact with the current, it might either mingle with or force a passage through it, and thus, by its increased transporting force, carry the sediment out to sea. This object might be accomplished by diminishing the outlet of

\* See Mr. S. Christopher's work on Natal, published by E. Wilson and Trelawny Saunders.



the bay, straightening the channel within the bar, and deepening the inner bay. A steam tug would most materially assist the transit of ships across the bar, and is indeed essential to the prosperity of the port. A lighthouse on the Bluff, which forms the western head of the harbour, is also of great importance.

The scenery around D'Urban is pleasing; a dense bush runs parallel with the sea-shore, generally extending down to the sand. In some places this forest is composed of large trees, in others of thick underwood, consisting of a variety of shrubs, intertwined with creeping parasitic plants, adorned with gaudy flowers. After two hours' ride through the bush the country becomes undulating and studded with clumps of trees. At twenty-five miles from D'Urban there is a bare and very hilly tract, varied occasionally with pretty spots, and at thirty miles the country becomes undulating, continuing so to Pieter-Maritzburg, fifty-one miles distant from D'Urban, by a road which is naturally good throughout, with a few exceptions, where the hills are very steep, but these places are now in course of improvement. Cotton has been planted in the vicinity of the Bay, and yields a superior and abundant produce. The sugar-cane and indigo plants thrive here as elsewhere, and the coffee tree has been introduced, and grows well; but time is required to show whether it can be successfully cultivated. The soil is rich, and favourable to the growth of barley, oats, &c., as well as of most descriptions of vegetables, especially beans, which form a valuable article of export to the Mauritius. The grass is at present rank for want of use, and the prospect for agricultural appears better than for grazing purposes. Mangrove is the chief building timber found in this division, but valuable hard wood for waggon making is obtained in a few localities.

*Pieter-Maritzburg Division* includes the town of the same name, which is the seat of government, and the head-quarters of the military. The town is finely situated; the ground sloping away from a hill crowned by a fort towards the Little Bushman's River, which winds almost entirely round the hill, and is a constantly running stream, while a fine background is formed by a chain of high hills rising gradually at a short distance, dotted with bush and forest timber. The plan of the town is a parallelogram, extending about a mile and-a-half in length, and a mile in breadth, divided by nine parallel streets, intersected at right angles by five others, each seventy-five feet wide. There are 400 building lots (many of which are still unoccupied), but there are already above 2,000 European or colonial inhabitants. Streams or water-courses are conveyed through all the streets, and many trees, chiefly syringas and willows, are planted in front of the houses. There are several good stone or brick buildings, including a town-hall, extensive barracks, Wesleyan chapel, and a large government school. A commodious English Episcopal church, and other structures, are in course of erection. Maritzburg Division is throughout abundantly watered, and capable of irrigation to almost any extent. Vegetation is very rapid in this and all the other districts; the grass, consequently, grows rank and strong, so as generally only to admit of the larger description of stock, such as cattle and horses, being depastured upon it with advantage in summer. Valuable timber, adapted for building purposes and furniture, is found in several localities.

*Umvoti Division*, to the north of D'Urban (on the

coast), comprises some of the finest land in Natal. The capabilities of the south-eastern portion of it are similar to those of D'Urban; but cattle thrive better. The locality stated by Dr. Stanger, the surveyor-general of Natal, to be best adapted for a European settlement, is the country on both banks of the *Umvoti* and *Nonoti*, and as far south as the *Tongati*, and the intervening space of about eight miles, for a distance of ten or twelve miles from the sea-coast. The land is not thickly covered with brush-wood, but abounds in large plains, with occasional clumps of thorns: along the banks of the small streams, which are numerous, masses of the useful timber, called *waterboom*, are found. The bed of the *Umvoti* is a rich alluvial deposit of great fertility; that of the *Nonoti* not so good.—(Parl. Papers, 14th August, 1850; p. 70.)

*Impafane Division*, to the north of Maritzburg, inland, was the favourite location of the boors before they quitted the province, being regarded by them as the best adapted for cattle. Sheep have also thriven well in certain tracts, and although generally less abundantly watered, and therefore perhaps not so capable of sustaining a dense population as the three former divisions, it is quite able to compete with them in many parts even in that respect; for instance, at the village of *Weenen*, and along the banks of the *Mooi* and *Bushman Rivers*. Wheat and oats have been grown largely, and with success. The soil of *Weenen* is particularly fertile; the vine, fruit trees, vegetables, &c., thriving well; but the place has made, and is likely to make, little progress, being situated off the main road in a basin, the approach to which is very difficult on all sides. Small quantities of coal, of inferior quality, have been seen along the banks of the *Bushmans' River*, near the surface. Building timber is procured at the base of the *Quathlamba*.

*Upper Tukela and Umzingati Divisions* are both inland, and lie to the north of *Impafane*, which they much resemble in character. Cattle thrive well here; and sheep in certain portions. Yellow wood abounds near the mountains; and anthracite coal, of good quality, is found in various localities, especially in the ravines near the *Umzingati*.

Two additional magistracies, *Umzimkoolu* and *Umbezana*, will probably be formed in the extensive tract situated between the *Umkomanzi* and *Umzimkoolu Rivers*, which is described as an open hilly country, well watered, and in parts wooded with fine timber. The Bishop of Cape Town, during his recent long and hazardous episcopal visitation, passed from Pieter-Maritzburg to the *Umzimkoolu River*, at a distance of about thirty-five to forty miles from the coast, and found a very difficult route, with precipitous mountains and steep defiles.

To the westward of the country above described, and between it and the *Quathlamba* range, lies a mountainous, grassy, and well-watered tract, considered well adapted for both sheep and cattle. Two further divisions (*Drakenberg* and *Ingali*) are likely to be formed here. The country to the southward of the colonial boundary, extending between the *Umzimkoolu* to within a few miles of the *Umzimvoobu* or *St. John's* (which latter is navigable for small vessels) is reported to be extremely fertile. The *Kafir* chief, *Faku*, holds the greater part of it by treaty, as about 10,000 of his people do by birthright, having very recently returned here, after the final defeat of their enemy *Dingaan*.

**GEOLOGY.**—Very little has been noted on this head. The rocks examined by Dr. Stanger con-

sisted of granite, basalt, and members of the trap family, slate, sandstone and shale; the two latter prevailing in the northern portions of the province. Basalt, greenstone, porphyritic and compact felspar, cut through the sandstone and shale in many places, and sometimes form stony ridges extending along the surface of the country for a great distance, and at others rise in small hills. No minerals, with the exception of anthracite and slightly bituminous coal, have yet been found. The latter occurs in a bed six feet thick, near Biggar's Berg, in 28° 7' S. lat., 29° 25' E. long. It is of good quality. In July, 1852, a seam of good coal was discovered in the cliffs overhanging the sea, about forty miles from D'Urban. Limestone has not been discovered, but sea-shells and concretionary lime furnish the necessary supply. Building materials are obtainable in most places, and in some, excellent freestone is abundant. Fossil silicified dicotyledonous wood is found on the surface of the country throughout the whole of the north-west portion of the colony, occasionally imbedded in sandstone.

The SOIL is divided by the natives into two descriptions:—the *first*, by its name, signifying mimosa, or *thorn* land, occurs on the banks of all the principal rivers, and is generally rich and strong, adapted for grazing purposes, fruitful in good seasons, but easily affected by drought: the *second* comprises forest and open, as well as table-land, more exclusively adapted for agricultural purposes, where droughts seldom occur, and where there are great facilities for irrigation. Cattle do well on this description of land for nine months in the year. The sea-coast belt, for about five miles inland, where the soil and productions are peculiar, and which seems well adapted for cotton, is not included in the above-mentioned classification.

CLIMATE.—The annual range of the thermometer on the coast, is from 47° in July, to 88° in January. Winter temperature, 50° to 60°; summer average, 76° Fahrenheit. The following table shows the mean temperature of each month in the year 1849, at 9 A.M., and the number of days in which more or less rain fell at Pieter-Maritzberg, about 1,800 feet above sea-level:—

| Months.             | Mean Temperature. | Days in which Rain fell. |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| January . . . . .   | 73.5              | 15                       |
| February . . . . .  | 80.5              | 14                       |
| March . . . . .     | 71.0              | 13                       |
| April . . . . .     | 67.5              | 6                        |
| May . . . . .       | 62.5              | 4                        |
| June . . . . .      | 57.5              | 2                        |
| July . . . . .      | 55.0              | 0                        |
| August . . . . .    | 60.0              | 3                        |
| September . . . . . | 66.0              | 2                        |
| October . . . . .   | 72.0              | 14                       |
| November . . . . .  | 67.5              | 22                       |
| December . . . . .  | 73.5              | 12                       |

The rainy season begins the first week in September, and ends in March, comprising the summer months of the year; during this interval thunder-showers are of almost daily occurrence. In May, June, and July, refreshing winds blow; hot blasts are rare, as the Quathlamba range affords a cooling medium. Long droughts are almost unknown. On the coast the seasons are not so well defined

as in the interior. The climate is, on the whole, extremely salubrious.

GOVERNMENT AND POPULATION.—There has been an organized administration at Natal since 1845-'6, under two successive lieutenant-governors, yet no annual "Blue Book" has been forwarded from thence, and the archives in Downing Street are totally devoid of any statistical returns respecting the condition of this province. The white population may be about 6,000; the coloured race are supposed to be about 115,000, and consist of the remains of numerous tribes broken up by Chaka, a few of whom maintained their position, while some have returned to Natal, and others have taken refuge thither from the sway of Panda, a Quabie chief subdued by Chaka, and by him reduced to a cow-herd, who, since the destruction of Dingaan, has in some measure succeeded him in authority over the heterogeneous mass comprised under the name of Zoolu, or Amazoolu Kafirs.

The native government in Natal is very simple, and apparently very efficient. The British diplomatic agent (Mr. Shepstone), who evidently fills his difficult position with much tact and judgment, is looked up to as the paramount chief, and is assisted by a body of councillors, sixty in number, who are chosen for their intelligence; a few of these men are in constant attendance. "Every day, sitting cross-legged on the ground, they hear cases. Their decision is generally a very sound one, and almost always confirmed by the 'Kose.' There is no lack of litigation. They are very fond of going to law, and plead acutely, and almost interminably. The process is very tedious. They begin from the beginning, and mention every circumstance, whether relevant or irrelevant. If you cut them short, and tell them to get to the point, they will begin all over again. It is of no use being impatient, you cannot hurry them. A Kafir can always talk against time. Every morning a knot of suitors may be seen sitting on the ground round the chief's house, awaiting his appearance."—(*Bishop's Visitation Tour*, 1850, p. 67.)

LAWS.—The *Roman Dutch* code, as in the Cape of Good Hope, modified by the English law. As in the older colony, there are small debt courts, similar to those more recently established in England. There is trial by jury in criminal, but not in civil cases. Lands are held as freehold, and at a quit rent, redeemable on payment of fifteen years' rent in one sum. The same mode of transferring landed property is adopted as in the sister colony: for the following clear view of this important subject I am indebted to a practising lawyer at Cape Town, Mr. J. A. Merrington:—"Transfers of landed property are effected in a very simple and cheap, yet efficacious manner, before an officer called the registrar of deeds. The transfers are prepared by conveyancers for a small fee, and the whole expense of transferring the most valuable property rarely exceeds £10, including stamps, and every other charge. A dispute as to the title to property seldom arises, the system being so complete as almost to obviate the possibility of this. Mortgages are also passed before the registrar of deeds, whose duty it is to see that a memorandum of the mortgage is endorsed on the title-deed of the mortgage property; and a debt register is also kept in his office, in which every mortgage is regularly entered; so that an intending purchaser of property can, on payment of a small fee, in a few minutes learn whether the property he



wishes to buy is free from incumbrances; a precaution which is usually adopted when an instalment of the purchase-money is payable in advance and before transfer; because no transfer can be made of any property until after the settlement of existing mortgages, either by payment, or by the consent of the mortgagee to adopt the purchaser as his debtor. Their consent is usually given on condition that a new mortgage bond is to be passed at the time of transfer; and thus the purchaser is placed in possession of a complete title without the possibility of fraud, and the rights of the mortgagee are fully secured. The ordinary rate of interest on mortgages is six per cent. per annum. On the demise of a parent the joint property is divided into two equal parts; one half is the property of the survivor, the other half forms the estate of the deceased. In the event of intestacy the property of the deceased is divided among the children; but either parent has a right of disposal of his or her property by will, as he or she may think fit; except as to the 'legitimate portion' of the children, which, if there be four or more, consists of one-half, and under that number of one-third of the estate of the deceased parent. Of this portion children can never be deprived, except for grave offences against the parents, which the law defines. There is no right of primogeniture, all the children sharing alike."

LAND.—Before the British government was established at Natal, the average market value of unoccupied land, among the European settlers, was two-pence per acre, and it subsequently increased to four-pence per acre. Now the upset price by auction is four shillings. For each £100 deposited with H.M. Emigration Commissioners, the depositor is authorized to name seven qualified emigrants, independent of the land to which he will be entitled for this sum. A Mr. Byrne has recently expended large sums in promoting emigration to Natal; he availed himself of the above-mentioned regulation of the commissioners, and for £10 promised every emigrant a free passage to Natal, and twenty acres of land. Mr. Byrne and his associates paid £14,000 into the Bank of England, as a guarantee for the fulfilment of their promises, and spared no pains to induce the British public to consider Natal an El Dorado. Unfortunately, as in the case of the New Zealand Company, the emigrants were badly proportioned, the labouring being far too numerous for the capitalist class; in eighteen months 3,500 emigrants, principally of the poorer order, preceded thither; they suffered much hardship; were unable for months to procure the twenty acre allotments promised, and when they did obtain them, found them quite insufficient for their support. The local government then added twenty-five acres to their respective allotments. Some quitted the colony, others have struggled against circumstances, and it is to be hoped are now beginning to reap the fruit of their toil, privation, and perseverance. New villages are springing up; the land, which yields two crops of maize in the year can scarcely fail to supply the rude elements of existence, and though wealth may be unknown, poverty is absent. In addition to English, Irish, and Scotch, there are about 300 Germans, introduced by a Mr. Bergtheil, who has formed a small settlement, called Little Germany. He is said to have invested a capital of nearly £10,000 in the undertaking, and to have scrupulously abided by his contract with the emigrants. The lavish grants of territory made by Sir Harry Smith and the land commissioners ap-

pointed by him, have completely upset the calculations of Messrs. Bergtheil, Byrne, Christopher, and others, and, it is to be feared, will long and materially obstruct the progress of the settlement. The endeavour to retain the boors was in itself beyond doubt a wise one, but the means taken have almost wholly failed. While land has been thus profusely squandered on the white-coloured man, the rights of the native proprietors have been, as usual, disregarded. I allude here not to emigrant Zoolus, or rather Kafirs, but to those comparatively few aborigines who had been enabled to hold their own against barbarian, but could not withstand civilized encroachment. In illustration of this may be quoted the case of Umneni, the chief of a small tribe comprising about 6,000 souls, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Bluff, a projecting hill of about 300 feet high, which runs out into the sea, and forms the western bank at the entrance of Natal harbour. Respecting this chief and his people, the bishop makes the following entry in his journal for June 9, 1850:—"I have heard to-day from a lady who lives in the neighbourhood, that the chief Umneni, of whom I have before spoken, removed from his lands on the Bluff last Friday. He came to bid her farewell before he left; for they had been kind neighbours to each other. 'It was not without sorrow that he quitted his birthplace, where he has resided all his life, and withstood in his fastnesses the victorious troops of Chaka, who conquered the whole country, and brought into subjection all the native chiefs except this one and another. But now we want his land. It is important for our growing settlement at D'Urban that it should be in our possession; therefore he must go. He is weak, and we are strong.'" The writer adds emphatically—"If we are to pursue the system which we have already in some degree adopted towards the native tribes, the same judgments from a just God which have already overtaken the boors for their cruelties and injustice towards the poor heathen will assuredly come upon us. I fear we are treading in their steps."—(*Visitation Tour*, p. 58.)

But it is not only proprietors by birthright whose names, ages, &c., ought to be registered and their rights secured, while it is yet possible, without any fear of causing strife or rebellion on the part of usurpers; steps ought to be forthwith taken for the permanent appropriation of land to the use of the remaining and much larger portion of the coloured population, who at present squat very much where they please, paying a hut-tax to the British government. Lord Grey, some years ago, forcibly urged upon the local authorities the settlement of the natives in clearly-defined locations, but this has not yet been done, and they are still quite uncertain as to the proper boundaries of their reserves. The report of the committee appointed for locating them, dated so far back as March, 1847, strongly recommends that all lands set apart for their use should be vested in trustees. The bishop, adverting to this recommendation, makes the following excellent remarks: "I believe this to be a point of deep importance. Unless it be done, the natives will be gradually deprived of their land. No local government will be able to withstand the restless and insatiate demands of the white man, even if its own wants did not tempt it to sell, from time to time, under various pretences which will always be forthcoming, property which has no legal owner, and is in the hands of government. The question is one which demands imme-

diate attention, and should not be postponed. The Zoolu has now a great respect for the English. He hates the Dutch for their injustice. There is now a saying which is becoming very common amongst them, which is, I think, a very affecting one; when he sees or feels a wrong, he is in the habit of saying, 'I should say it was wrong, if it was not done by an Englishman.' His reverence for the English will not allow him to believe that they would willingly do a wrong; and yet he cannot altogether stifle his convictions. How long will this last?"

The following return, with which I have been favoured by Dr. Stanger, the surveyor-general, shows the estimated quantity of land granted under the proclamations of 1813 and 1848, and the quantity comprised in the Kafir or Zoolu locations, at the end of the year 1850; also the estimated number of acres in the province of Natal:—Acres granted under proclamation of 1813, 1,708,000; acres granted under proclamation of 1848, 1,232,500; acres in Kafir locations, 1,000,000; total acres in Natal, 11,520,000.

**FINANCE.**—The income and outlay of the colony is thus stated in a recent Parliamentary Paper:—

| Year. | Net Revenue. | Expenditure. |
|-------|--------------|--------------|
| 1846  | £5,194       | £6,960       |
| 1847  | 8,317        | 8,527        |
| 1848  | 9,268        | 10,101       |
| 1849  | 14,331       | 16,440       |

For the following statement I am indebted to Dr. Stanger:—*Revenue and Expenditure in 1850*—**REVENUE:**—Balance in treasury, on 1st of January, £1,469; advances, unrecovered on 1st of January, £1,459; customs, £11,200; pilotage, £177; land sales, £11,813; land revenue (quit rent), £410; transfer dues, £1,625; auction dues, £712; licences, £1,349; stamps, £936; taxes paid by aborigines (1s. 6d. for each hut), £9,251; postage, £355; fines, forfeitures, and fees of court, £273; fees of office, £646; advances refunded, and sale of presents, £350; interest of monies due to government, £9.—**Total** (sheep and produce excluded), £12,010. **EXPENDITURE:** Establishments, £8,126; pensions, £45; revenue services, exclusive of establishments, £6; administration of justice, £43; charitable allowances, £9; educational, exclusive of establishments, £123; hospitals, ditto, £125; police and gaols, ditto, £724; rent, £493; transport, £576; conveyance of mails, £335; works and buildings, £1,819; roads, streets, and bridges, £740; miscellaneous (advances for journeys, printing, &c.), £1,873; aborigines, inclusive of establishments, £3,634; immigration, £11,002; loans repaid, £3,000. **Total**, £32,698.

**COMMERCE.**—There are few details yet collected: for three years it stands thus:—

| Exports and Imports.       | 1847.  | 1848.  | 1849.  | 1850. |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|
| Imports . . . £            | 41,958 | 46,981 | 46,204 | —     |
| Exports . . . £            | 15,146 | 13,674 | 10,866 | —     |
| Ships entered . tons.      | 3,528  | 3,226  | 4,166  | —     |
| <b>Exports of Produce—</b> |        |        |        |       |
| Sheep Wool . lbs.          | 4,206  | 4,389  | 2,927  | —     |
| Cotton . . lbs.            | 1,740  | 5,824  | 13,931 | —     |
| Ivory . . lbs.             | 24,022 | 18,507 | 29,321 | —     |

The falling off in the exports is accounted for by the Dutch migrating from the colony into the interior.

Of the state of **RELIGION, EDUCATION, and CRIME**, there are no official returns. As regards the latter, Mr. Cloete, the recorder of Natal, stated in June, 1849, that for fifteen months there had not been a felonious case among 100,000 natives (British subjects), requiring the intervention of a jury.

The efforts made in the cause of religion by the Wesleyan Society, have been shown at pp. 150-1; much good has been wrought by them among the peaceable and well-disposed Zoolu Kafirs, especially by the labours of the Rev. Mr. Alison and his wife. The American Board of Missions is actively engaged in the same cause, and sustains about twelve missionaries in Natal, and the Berlin Society have a station in New Germany, about ten miles from D'Urban, partially supported by Mr. Bergtheil. So late as 1849, there was no clergyman of the Church of England in the colony; but in 1851, there were three, one of whom was sent out by the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. The number will probably soon greatly increase, as Natal, as has been before stated, is about to be formed into a separate see, distinct from that of Cape Town.

**GENERAL VIEW.**—Every new field for emigration opened to the British public, seems doomed to run the gauntlet between unqualified praise and exaggerated censure. Natal has been no exception to this rule; it has been puffed up as an earthly paradise, precisely suited to the wants of every intending emigrant, and it has been cried down as a barren wilderness fit only for savage life. For my own part, judging from all that I have seen, heard, and read, I am inclined to think that the first of these two extremes approaches nearest to the truth. The verdant beauty of its coastline is all that I can speak of from personal knowledge, but the statements of several intelligent and perfectly disinterested witnesses concur in attributing to this new colony many elements of wealth and progress, combined with a delicious climate and charming scenery. Among the foremost of these may be named Dr. Andrew Smith, a wary, dispassionate observer, some of whose remarks have been already quoted. He expressed himself as early as 1830, in the strongest terms respecting the capabilities of Natal for the support of a large population.\* Sir Harry Smith, addressing Earl Grey, in 1848, described the country in the most glowing terms. A recent visitor, the lamented J. J. Freeman, thus records his impression of the province as he found it in 1850:—"I saw much beautiful land, rich soil, numerous streams, and extensive forests. I found the air salu-

\* *Vide* Parl. Papers, June, 1835; pp.



brious and pleasant, and I witnessed the rising prospects of many families. I often said to myself, as I passed through the colony, 'Were I now proposing to emigrate, I would choose Natal as the sphere of my enterprise.'" Both this writer and the Bishop of Cape Town, in describing the country they had traversed, speak especially of the neighbourhood of the Umgeni River, which forms probably the finest cascade in South Africa, the whole volume of water falling at once over a perpendicular precipice of yellow sandstone, into a wooded valley about three hundred feet below. The varied character of the indigenous vegetation lends a peculiar charm to the scenery, and the formation of the country in successive terraces rising from the sea-shore, favours the growth of productions requiring different soils and climate: thus cotton, (said to have been introduced from the Morley Mission Station,) coffee, sugar, tobacco, indigo, and hemp, thrive on the seabelt; wheat, maize, and all the cerealia, on the second slope; while the third is more adapted for pastoral purposes. But few wild beasts now infest the inhabited districts, although the tiger, wolf, and wild-dog, are occasionally met with. Herds of elephants still range the wooded heights near D'Urban; but they have been so much hunted lately, that they will probably be soon exterminated. Further inland, and along some parts of the coast, are found the lion, buffalo, leopard, hyena, many kinds of antelope, and the wild-boar; the hippopotamus is common at the mouths of the larger rivers, as also the crocodile. The smaller description of game, comprising varieties of deer and antelope, and feathered fowl, abound on most farms.

The English settlers now established at Natal appear to belong to the energetic and persevering class, alone calculated to pass successfully the ordeal of labour and privation which, in a new colony, is the almost invariable introduction to success. The same remark applies to the three hundred Germans, whose frugal and sober habits deserve praise and imitation; and the remaining Dutch families, from their experience and friendly connexions with their brethren in the Cape Colony, the Sovereignty, and the Grensgebied, are likely to contribute materially to the peace and prosperity of the settlement; the more so because it is now generally believed that since the slave emancipation their sentiments and conduct

towards the coloured races have become much more favourable.

The treatment of the large and increasing coloured population, numbering, it is supposed, from 100,000 to 150,000, is a matter of vital importance. They are universally described as a mild, tractable, and thoroughly trustworthy race, and are employed as domestic or farm servants throughout the colony; their labour being obtained by the European settlers, at the rate of 5s. a month in money, and food, which costs about 5s. more. The remuneration being so trifling, it is not to be wondered that the natives now shrink from the self-denial necessary to continuous exertion; but by careful training, kind treatment, and the increase of wages in proportion to the increased quantity and improving quality of the work performed, this fitfulness and indolence may be removed, and the influences of civilization in inspiring new wants will lend the strongest incitement to industry. To develop the manifold resources of the colony, capital, skilled labour, and an exportable product, commanding a good price in England, are necessary. The latter is found in cotton, of which various qualities succeed perfectly, and bring a price at Manchester varying from 9*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. If wealthy Lancashire capitalists would appropriate £100,000 to insure a fixed and remunerative price for Natal cotton during the next three years, the twelve to fifteen millions sterling now paid to foreign countries for a raw product essential to British manufactures, might be disbursed within the limits of the empire among our fellow-subjects, who receive those manufactures at mere nominal duties, whereas their sale in the United States and elsewhere, is impeded by duties of 30 to 40 per cent. By such encouragement Natal might be made the lucrative cotton plantation of Lancashire, while its neighbour, the Orange River Sovereignty, promises to become the wool farm of Yorkshire and Somerset. No better policy could be devised for the general welfare, than to unite by the ties of reciprocity the wide spread domains of the British Crown. England cannot afford to neglect the welfare of any one of her colonies. Each one has its own distinctive and peculiar value; each one, if wisely and liberally governed, will do its part in rendering the mother country independent of the capricious regulations, or hostile tariffs, of foreign lands or rival states.

## BOOK III.—WESTERN AFRICA.

### CHAPTER I.

#### EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS—HISTORY—RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

SEVERAL European nations possess forts and factories scattered along the western coast of Africa, between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Colonies, considered as fields of emigration for the white man, there are none; the climate of the whole coast-line incapacitating him for labour, and proving, after a few years' residence, permanently injurious to health, if not destructive to life.

The names and situations of the various mercantile stations are as follows:—

ENGLAND.—Beginning from the north we have *Bathurst* at the mouth of the Gambia, positions on the main land, and trading posts on the river banks. One hundred and fifty miles to the south-east *Bulama*, one of the *Bijaga* or *Bissagos* Islands, between the estuaries of the *Grande* or *Jeba* and the *Bulola* river; 160 miles further to the south-east, the *Isles de Los*; sixty-five miles to the south, the peninsula of *Sierra Leone*, extending to the *Sherboro River and country*, and the *Banana Islands*. From thence in a south-easterly and easterly direction, for a distance of about 650 miles, there is no British settlement, until we arrive at the Gold Coast, where there are several forts and stations, viz., *Cape Coast Castle*, *Accra*, (*Fort James*), *Dix Core*, *Annamaboo*, *Winnebah*, *Quittah*, *Pram Pram*, *Appollonia*, *Tantamquerry*, and others, temporarily abandoned, or at present little used. In addition to these there are the newly-acquired stations at *Accra*, *Tasie*, or *Tessing*, *Temma*, *Ningo*, *Atoko*, *Adda*, *Akropong*, and *Quittah*, including *Forts Christianborg*, *Augustaburg*, *Friedensburg*, *Konigstein*, and *Prinzenstein*, together with large tracts of country on the Guinea or Gold Coast, purchased by Great Britain from Denmark for £10,000, in August, 1850. About 200 miles to the eastward of Cape Coast Castle, is *Whydah*, situated on the northern shore of the Bight of Benin, on which we had a factory forty years ago.

FRANCE occupies *St. Louis Island*, near the Senegal River, on whose banks she has

several trading stations; the strongly fortified *Island of Goree*, near Cape Verd; various posts on the *Casamanza River*; a factory at *Albreda*, on the Gambia River; *Grand Bassam* and *Assinee*, on the Ivory Coast; and a position on the Gaboon River.

HOLLAND has its principal fort at *Elmina*, the earliest European settlement formed on this portion of Africa, situated a little to the north of Cape Coast Castle. She likewise possesses several smaller stations.

PORTUGAL has factories at *Cacheo*, *Bissao*, *St. Paul de Loando* (Angola), *Nora Redonda*, *Benguela*, and *Mayumba* or *Little Fish Bay*; the *Cape Verd Islands*, on the N.W. coast, and those of *Princes* and *St. Thomas*, to the southward of *Fernando Po*. SPAIN claims the island last-mentioned, and occupies the beautiful *Canary Islands* near Cape Bojador.

LIBERIA.—The settlement thus named, formed by manumitted slaves and coloured Africans from the United States of America, extends along the sea-coast border between the Gallinas River, and Cape Palmas, a distance of about 350 miles, with an inland breadth of about 40 miles.

HISTORY.—The progress of African discovery has been briefly stated at the commencement of this volume. Its annals from the earliest period of European intercourse, are written in blood. Its fair and fertile soil has eluded the grasp of civilized man, for fever and pestilence forbade his approach, and while occasionally scourging even the aborigines, visited with relentless fury every European attempt at permanent occupation. And then, when nations and individuals, professing to place all their hopes in this world and the next, on the mercy of Him whose death and incarnation had no other end than to impart to fallen man "the glorious liberty of the children of God," in place of the foul and oppressive yoke of sin—found that these poor heathens who had on their first arrival



kindly welcomed them, were strong and healthy, they with one consent determined upon turning these advantages to their own ends. And this, not by introducing the arts of civilized life, and sedulously turning the attention of an abundant population to the development of the natural resources of a territory capable of growing in luxuriant perfection those tropical products which find an ever-increasing market in colder climes; but, by an inhuman, fiendish practice, which it is scarcely possible to believe, was, in the open face of day, formally commenced by the most polished nations of Christendom, so late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yes—kidnapping became a recognised trade, human flesh and blood an avowed article of traffic, and civilized governments fostered the noxious plant until it grew to an enormous stature, overshadowing like a deadly upas tree, the prospects of many lands.

In 1807, England renounced the traffic, and has ever since striven earnestly to protect the wretched Africans; but up to that time, their history is all comprised under the head of the—

SLAVE TRADE.—An indelible stain rests upon the fame of Prince Henry of Portugal, which his high reputation for science, and his love of adventure and discovery only render the more painfully conspicuous: his name has descended to posterity as the first promoter of the slave trade. His original intentions were at least professedly honourable towards the aborigines of the coast newly discovered by the navigators employed in his service, whom he especially urged to bring home some of the natives that he might have them baptized, educated, and sent back, so that the Portuguese might by their means open a commerce with their countrymen. In 1442, the desire of the Prince was gratified by Gonzales Baldeza, who, after a voyage of two years, returned, bringing with him ten negroes and some gold dust. Henry presented the captives to Pope Martin V., who, at his request issued a Bull, by which he granted to the Portuguese nation an exclusive right to the possession of all the territory which they might discover between Cape Bojador and the continent of India.\*

In the following year, Nunez Tristan sailed on an African expedition; reached Arguim in 20° 30' N. lat., and meeting with some small boats close in shore, seized them and brought back their crews, amounting to fourteen persons, as slaves. An association was immediately formed for the express purpose of carrying on a trade in gold and slaves, in the profits of which a share was allotted to the prince, who eagerly promoted the transportation of the wretched Africans, though he endeavoured to mitigate the excessive atrocities connected, even at that early period, with their capture. In 1444, two hundred

slaves were brought to Portugal; and, very speedily, the annual average importation increased to 700 or 800, ("teste di schiavi, head of slaves.") The early and most distinguished of these men-stealers were not long permitted to continue their course of rapine and bloodshed. Swift and utter destruction, such is often the doom of those who take the initiative in some glaring sin, overwhelmed them in the very act. Gonzales was slain in 1445, while attempting to carry off some unoffending natives, and Nunez Tristan perished the following year in a similar manner.

From these and many other facts, handed down to us from this period, it appears that the natives did not then sell their countrymen, but resisted the nefarious attempts of their ruthless enemies, even to the death. Gradually, the Portuguese, by exciting the covetousness of the chiefs, induced them first to barter the bodies of their foes and then to make war upon weak tribes, for no other end than to gratify that desire of trading with Europeans which, honestly directed, might have proved the source of commercial prosperity alike to Africa and Portugal, while the slave trade has been an unmitigated curse to both.

The effect of the strong stimulus to cupidity and revenge held out to the heathens of Africa was terrific. The land became the arena of ferocious contests for the supply of the slave-dealers, who drafted the victims of their avarice by thousands to a distant land, there to toil like beasts of burthen, to perish like them when the power of labour had ceased, and to be replaced by fresh cargoes of wretched beings, whose very offspring were condemned to endure the same hopeless bondage, unless their parents, impelled by despairing love, dared the vengeance of their cruel taskmasters, and destroyed their children to preserve them from the rayless existence to which they were themselves condemned.

About the year 1460, the Spaniards seized as slaves some of the inhabitants of the Canaries, to which islands they laid claim.

In 1497, the Portuguese commenced what was called the "carrying trade;" that is, after supplying their own country with as many as were required, they transported them elsewhere, and in 1503 introduced a limited number into St. Domingo to supply the place of the unfortunate Indians who were rapidly perishing from the hard labour in the mines, and the excessive barbarities to which they were subjected by the Spanish settlers. In 1511, large numbers were imported by the formal permission of Ferdinand the Catholic. After his death, the celebrated Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, proposed to Cardinal Ximenes (regent during the minority of Charles V.) the establishment of a regular commerce in Africans, with a view to saving the remnant of the feeble and inoffensive American and West Indian aborigines. Ximenes refused, declaring that he considered it wholly unlawful to consign innocent persons to slavery, or to deliver one unoffending race from a state of suffering by reducing another to the same position. Ximenes died; Charles V. came into power, and was induced to permit the resumption of the slave trade,† which increased excessively, from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves being sold annually about the year 1539, in the slave market, established at Lisbon under Papal sanction.‡ Charles becoming aware of the iniquity and cruelty he had rashly authorized, forbade any

\* See numerous quotations from the early Italian historian, Barros, in *Bandinell on Slavery*.

† *Clarkson on the Slave Trade*. Parker: 1839.

‡ *Edwards*, vol. iii. p. 202.

further importation of slaves, and ordered that all then in bondage throughout his American possessions should be set free. On his retirement to a monastery the traffic was revived, receiving occasionally some slight check from the indignant denunciations of such men as Leo X. and others.

The attention of England had been early turned to Africa as a field for legitimate commerce; and her merchants had endeavoured to open a trade during the brief reign of Edward VI., but were deterred by the Portuguese, who claimed the exclusive right in virtue of the Papal decree before alluded to. Portugal was not, however, long permitted to retain the power which she had so fearfully misused. In 1580, King Henry (the cardinal) died, leaving no heir; and Philip II. of Spain, on seizing of the vacant throne, was too much occupied with European affairs to be able to preserve intact that African trade which Portugal had spent years of unremitting exertion in establishing. Other European nations eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded, and founded forts and small trading settlements on various parts of the coast. The English settled chiefly at Cape Coast Castle; the French at the Senegal River; the Dutch on the Gambia River; and the Danes at Christianborg. At each of these places strong fortresses were built, mounting fifty to sixty pieces of cannon; and with each several subordinate posts or stations were connected.

France appears to have engaged in commerce with Africa about 1556: in 1626 a Rouen Company existed, who soon after that time pursued the slave-carrying trade. The Dutch commenced voyaging thither in 1595; and following up the traces of the Portuguese with great ardour, soon supplanted them in all their objects of trade, including that of slaves, and took possession of their factories and forts, in addition to which they constructed some new ones. In 1588, Queen Elizabeth granted a patent to a company for the obtainment from the neighbourhood of the Gambia and Senegal Rivers, hides, gums, ivory, grains, ambergris, rice, ostrich feathers, and gold, all of which they succeeded in procuring. There is no reason to suppose that they intermeddled with the slave-trade; and most assuredly their queen would not have given them even tacit allowance, had they been so inclined; for when Captain (afterwards Sir John) Hawkins returned from his first voyage, during which he had conveyed slaves from Africa to St. Domingo, she sent for him and expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their free consent, declaring that "it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers."\* Hawkins promised to comply with these injunctions, but, reckless freebooter as he was, repeated twice more the same lawless enterprise; and in the second attempt perished miserably, as his sovereign had predicted, in 1588.

In 1618, James I. granted a charter to Sir J. Rich and others who were bent on "adventuring in the golden trade." The company erected forts and factories at the Gambia and elsewhere, but their officers indignantly refused to buy "any that had their own shapes." (*Some Account of the Trade in Slaves from Africa*, by J. Bandinel, Esq., Foreign Office, London, pp. 39 and 42.)

In 1631, Charles I. granted to a second company, composed of Sir B. Young, Sir K. Digby, and others,

a charter for trade with Africa, under the provisions of which, in 1641 (passing over the solitary instance of Hawkins), Englishmen, incited by the want of labour in the British West Indies, first commenced taking part in the accursed thing, by transporting thither small numbers of Africans from the Guinea Coast.

Cromwell gave no encouragement to the slave-trade; but, on acquiring possession of Jamaica, took means for peopling it with British subjects only.

Charles II., immediately after his accession, granted a charter to a third African company, of which his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., was a member. This company undertook to supply the British West Indies with 3,000 slaves annually; but although, like its predecessors, protected by patents and exclusive privileges, it failed like them.

In 1672, a fourth English African company was established. They enlarged Cape Coast Castle, built forts at Accra, and at five other places, imported large quantities of dye stuffs, ivory, wax, and gold, and supplied the British colonies with slaves. Their exclusive privileges were annulled by the "Declaration of Rights," in 1688, and African commerce was thrown open by Britain to all her subjects; but the company continued to exist, and in 1713 entered into a formal agreement with the Spanish government, which has become famous in history by a name formed of two words of the same signification, *Assiento Contract*, the company being called *Assientists*. It was signed by the King of Spain himself, and ratified by an article of the Treaty of Utrecht. By its provisions, during the ensuing thirty years, the English company engaged to supply Spain with 144,000 slaves, or 4,800 per annum, and in return for this privilege they agreed to advance to the Spanish monarch 200,000 crowns, to pay a duty of 33½ crowns for every slave, and, moreover, to allot to the sovereigns of Spain and of England each one quarter of the profits of their nefarious enterprise. They were to be at liberty to import into the Spanish West Indies as many slaves above the stipulated number as they could find a market for, and to sell them all for the highest price they could get, except at the ports of Santa Martha, Cumana, and Maracaybo, where the price was never to be raised above a certain sum, as it was considered desirable to induce the colonists at those places to introduce slaves on their own account.

The company were especially privileged to send an English ship of 500 tons burden, once a year, to the Spanish West Indies, with an assortment of general merchandise. For twenty years (up to 1733) the *Assientists* annually transported about 15,000 slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and for the following twenty years about 20,000 per annum. But this disgraceful traffic proved in the long run as unprofitable to the English as it had been to the Portuguese, French, and other nations;† and in 1739, the company were in debt to the king of Spain to the amount of £68,000 sterling. The outbreak of war interrupted the working of the contract. By the peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748), its renewal for four years was stipulated for, in consequence of its compulsory suspension; but by the Convention of 1750, the king of Great Britain, upon receipt of £100,000 in lieu of being allowed to send the annual trading ship, renounced, on behalf of his subjects, the stipu-

the treaty of Pardo, January, 1849.—*Vide Bandinel on Slavery*. London, 1842; p. 59.

\* *Hill's Naval History*.

† Declaration of the Spanish minister attached to



lated prolongation of the Assiento contract. The slave-carrying part of the undertaking had been all along a losing trade—the prospect of profit having rested solely on the merchandise imported by the company, who, so early as 1729, applied to parliament for assistance to keep up their forts and factories in Africa. Occasional grants of money were thenceforward made them, amounting, up to 1749, to £80,000, when, finding themselves hopelessly indebted to sundry creditors in the sum of £107,262, they offered to surrender their charter, forts, and other property, if parliament would pay their debts and give the proprietors £25,000.

The first, and it would appear only the first, of these conditions was acceded to. They were enabled to pay their debts, the association was dissolved, and a “regulated” company, in which each member traded individually on his own capital, was formed, and entrusted with the command of the forts and settlements on the African coast; but the commerce itself was declared free and open to all British subjects, from South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope.\* The new company received large Parliamentary grants for 57 years, viz. from 1750 to 1807, at the rate of £13,431 per annum; and from 1807 to 1821, when it ceased to exist, at the rate of £23,000 per annum.

It is actually appalling to look back upon the judicial blindness which could have allowed the sovereign, both houses of parliament, and the people and press of Great Britain, in the middle of the eighteenth century, formally and fully to aid and abet the wholesale commission of a heinous crime, explicitly denounced by the Divine Law, for “he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.”—(*Exodus*, xxi., 16.)

As corruption in one part of the body corporate speedily communicates its deleterious influence to the distant and most vital parts of the frame, so crime tolerated in a remote portion of an empire soon spreads to the metropolis; is first connived at, then openly practised, and finally stalks abroad in all its hideous deformity. Those who defend slavery, are in a fitting state of preparation for being themselves deprived of, at least, political liberty; and the nation once made aware of the fearful sin it sanctions, must, if it continues the same course, sink into an abyss of vice, and become the victim of its own criminality. Into this state England was being dragged by the slave-trade.

Even so late as the reign of George III., the London newspapers contained advertisements respecting the sale of slaves, to be sold either by themselves or in the same lot with horses, carriages, or any other stock of the proprietor. As illustrations, take the following:—“At the Bull and Gate, Holborn, a chestnut gelding, a tim whiskey, and a well-made, good-tempered black boy.”—(*Gazetteer*, 18th of April, 1769.) “To be sold a black girl, the property of J. B., eleven years of age, who is extremely handy, works at her needle tolerably, and speaks English tolerably well; is of an excellent temper, and willing disposition. Inquire of Mr. Owen, at the Angel Inn, behind St. Clement’s Church, in the Strand.”—(*Public Advertiser*, 28th of November, 1769.)

In 1745 the British government proceeded so far as to grant lands to its subjects in Jamaica, on the stringent condition that a certain number of slaves should

be settled thereon. In 1760, 1765, and 1774, the colonists, alarmed at the increasing number of slaves, endeavoured to impose a duty on their further importation; but the home government contravened their measures, on the ground that the inhuman traffic was beneficial to the nation!† Thus fostered and upheld, the slave-trade increased to an almost incredible extent—civilized states vied one with another in a career of wrong and robbery, in which, to her disgrace, England gained the undoubted pre-eminence. Austria, in 1782, set the example of ceasing to do evil, by abolishing the trade as far as she was concerned; but there then appeared little prospect of its being followed by other states.

In 1788 there were 450,000 slaves in the British West Indies alone, and the annual exportation from Africa was 100,000, the distribution being—English, 38,000; French, 31,000; Portuguese, 25,000; Dutch, 4,000; Danes, 2,000; and the same aggregate amount is stated to have continued annually up to the year 1805.‡ This estimate is considered below the truth. The waste of life, even after the slaves had reached the West Indies, was enormous. Up to 1787, the “number consumed by Europeans was computed by Mr. Cooper at 10,000,000.”§

But the darkest hour was the nearest the dawn, and the very excess of the evil tended, under Providence, to its abolition, at least with regard to England. A spirit had long been gaining ground in the nation, which led individuals to investigate the practical working of a system, the principle of which they felt to be indefensible.

The act *per se* of one nation, or one man enslaving another, had been indignantly reprobated by the most eminent writers, whether moralists, statesmen, or poets, from the time of Milton. Godwin, a clergyman of the Established Church; Baxter, the celebrated Nonconformist divine; and George Fox, the venerable founder of the Society of Friends, towards the end of the seventeenth century, protested loudly against the slave-trade, as did likewise Montesquieu in his *Esprit des Loix*, in 1750; Adam Smith, in 1759, in his *Wealth of Nations*, and elsewhere; Hutcheson, in his *Moral Philosophy*; Postlethwaite, in his *Commercial Dictionary*; Bishop Warburton, in a powerful sermon delivered in 1766; Robertson, the Abbé Reynal, and Paley, between 1776 and 1782; Sir Richard Steele, Pope, Thompson, Savage, Shenstone, and Sterne; and lastly, Cowper, Johnson, Hannah More, the Rev. John Newton (who before his reformation had himself been a slave dealer), did their part in inducing the public to view favourably the exertions of the Quakers and Wesleyans in England and America, commenced by the former body (including Anthony Benezet) in 1761, and by John Wesley, Whitfield, and their Christian followers, in 1762, for the abolition of this detestable traffic.

In 1765 Granville Sharp commenced drawing aside the thick veil of ignorance and indifference which had long hidden from the eyes of the British government and nation the hideous and revolting cruelties perpetrated under the direct sanction of the law. In 1772, in the case of James Strong, an African slave brought to England by his master, who endeavoured to seize him forcibly, and convey him thence to Jamaica, Granville Sharp obtained the

\* Bandinel, pp. 60-2.

† *A Cry from the Middle Passage*; p. 3. Seeleys, Fleet-street; 1850.

‡ Evidence of Lord Palmerston, first report of Slave-trade Committee, 1848; question, 186.

§ *A Cry from the Middle Passage*, p. 5.

glorious decision, that "as soon as ever any slave set his foot upon English territory he became free." In 1783, he brought before the public, in illustration of the wanton and wilful destruction of life perpetrated in the slave carrying trade, the complaint of certain underwriters against the captain and officers of the ship *Zong*, whom they alleged had thrown overboard 132 sickly slaves, in order to defraud them, on the plea of the lives having been lost by casualty, not disease. The only extenuating circumstance offered on behalf of the captain (Collingwood) was that the vessel was short of water, and that he had missed his port, but even this wretched plea was shewn to be untrue.—(Clarkson, p. 81.)

In 1776, the good Bishop Porteus came forward in the same cause. In 1784, Dr. Gregory produced his "Essays," and circulated in them much information respecting the slave trade; against which a public petition was addressed by the people of Bridgewater to parliament in the following year; this was the second on this subject, a previous memorial having been presented in 1783 by the Quakers, who, having learned that the officers of the African Company were to be forbidden from exporting negroes, prayed that the same restriction might be extended to all persons whomsoever. Lord North declared that the request did credit to "the most benevolent society in the world," (Clarkson, p. 93,) but regretted that "the slave trade had, in a commercial point of view, become necessary to almost every nation of Europe." In 1786, Mr. Clarkson, one of the most disinterested, persevering, and devoted of the early opponents of slavery, commenced his labours by publishing a work against it. In 1787, Clarkson, Granville Sharp, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Wilberforce, and nine others, formed themselves into a private committee, with the object of procuring the abolition of the trade, and were soon joined by distinguished men of various religious persuasions and political opinions. In 1788, Mr. Pitt, after a searching investigation into the effects of the trade on Africa, on the West Indies, and on the crews employed in it, declared himself decidedly inimical to its continuance. By the examination of vessels then at Liverpool, he ascertained that the space given to a slave was five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth; the deck was from four to five feet four inches in height. It was proved by evidence that the slaves were chained hand and foot to each other, and fastened besides by ringbolts to the deck; that their allowance was a pint of water a day each, and their food yams and horsebeans; that they were made to jump in their irons for exercise, and flogged if they refused to do so. The mortality among both the slaves and the crews was found to be enormous, so that the trade, instead of being a nursery for seamen, was in reality a grave.—(Bandinel, p. 81-2.) Mr. Wilberforce, in describing the effects of the slave-trade on Africa—"quoted orders given to British slave agents settled on the coast, to encourage the chieftains by presents of brandy and gunpowder, to go to war to make slaves. Youths came with vegetables to sell, families came to pay a friendly visit—one and the other were seized and sold. The country was made a field of warfare and desolation, a wilderness in which the inhabitants were as wolves preying on each other."—(Bandinel, p. 94.) In his evidence

before the privy council, he detailed the horrors of the carrying trade, the state of suffocation of the slaves, their eating by compulsion, their despair, insanity, their throwing themselves into the sea, and, in drowning, waving their hands in triumph, exulting that they had escaped from their tyrants. He mentioned a Captain Fraser, who, finding a man would not eat, caused hot coals to be held to his mouth to compel him to swallow nourishment wherewith to sustain a life of slavery.—(Ibid. Bandinel, pp. 94-5.) Lord Grenville, Fox, Burke, and subsequently Lord Wellesley, Canning, Romilly, and other men of note, shared the views of Mr. Pitt; yet, so powerful was the interest of the West Indian party, that notwithstanding this auspicious commencement, the abolitionists gained their noble end only after a struggle of twenty years' duration.

In April, 1791, a motion for the abolition of the trade was lost in the house of commons, although supported most ably by Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Grey (afterwards Earl Grey), Wilberforce, Martin, Ryder, Lyttleton, Thornton, Burgoyne, Montague, Banks, Elliott, Courtenay, Francis, Scott (Sir William), and Lords Aspley, Bayham, Arden, Carysfort, Muncester, Barnard, North, and Euston. The minority, including the above illustrious names, comprised only 88 members; the majority, 163. The debate was remarkable for perhaps the most wonderful display of eloquence ever heard, even in the House of Commons of 1791. Lord Wellesley, who sat beside Pitt during his long speech, has frequently told me that it was like inspiration. Fox, also, is described as having surpassed himself; and though defeated, these worthy champions of a most righteous cause declared they would never cease to be its advocates until they ceased to live. Both nobly redeemed their pledge. Pitt would probably have carried the abolition through during his own brilliant administration, but for the strong opposition of two powerful members of the cabinet, Lord Chancellor Thurlow and Lord Liverpool; and the more dangerous because less open hostility of a third, Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville).

At this period, the Dutch alone successfully rivalled the English in the slave-trade. According to Edwards, forty forts were then established on the African coast, of which fourteen belonged to England, fifteen to Holland, four to Denmark, four to Portugal, and three to France.

In 1792, the King of Denmark prohibited his subjects from purchasing, selling, or transporting slaves in or from Africa or any other foreign place; and in 1794, the Americans passed a law to prohibit the carrying on the slave-trade from the United States to any foreign place or country. Slowly, but surely, a conviction of the abominable nature of the trade gained ground; and from this date almost every new member of eminence joined the Wilberforce party, as did nearly the whole of the 100 Irish members who took their seats in parliament after the union of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1800.

In 1804, the Abolitionists' Committee added to a list, already famous for worth and talent, the names of James Stephen, Robert Grant, John Thornton, and William Allen; and were at the same time enriched by the brilliant genius of Henry Brougham, and the unwearying research of Zachary Macauley.

\* The various successive attempts made by Mr. Wilberforce, from 1788 to 1817, and the manner in which they were received by parliament, are detailed

in my previous works, viz., the *History of the British Colonies*, in 5 vols., published in 1834, and the *Colonial Library*, in 2 vols., in 1836.



Pitt died in January, 1806; Fox succeeded him in power, but only for a brief period, his own demise occurring in the following October. Conscious of his rapidly declining strength, he devoted his last energies to the cause in which he had long and earnestly laboured, and which engaged his last earthly thoughts. "Two things," said he, on his deathbed, "I wish earnestly to see accomplished—peace with Europe, and the abolition of the slave-trade. But of the two I wish the latter." The exertions of the dying patriot had contributed largely to both these objects. The second, so far as England was concerned, he had all but accomplished, with the aid of Lords Grenville, Henry Petty, Holland, Ellenborough, Lauderdale, Stanhope, Westmoreland, Grosvenor, Spencer, Sidmouth, and others.

Three acts of parliament had been passed for the regulation of the slave-trade. In January, 1807, Lord Grenville introduced a bill into the House of Lords for its complete abolition. The Duke of Gloucester supported, the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex opposed the bill, which was carried by a majority of 16; sent down to the House of Commons, where it was passed by a majority of 108; and received the royal assent on the 25th of March; forming the closing ministerial act of the Whig administration.

This parliamentary enactment declared that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions; that no slaves should be landed in the colonies after the 1st of March, 1808; and that from and after the 1st of May, 1807, all dealing, purchasing, or barter for slaves on the coast of Africa should be utterly abolished, and unlawful; vessels found engaged in the traffic were to be forfeited, and bounties were held out for the capture of persons who had been seized as slaves. This act, however, was found insufficient; and in 1811, through the exertions of Mr. Brougham, another was passed, making it felony for any person to engage in the forbidden traffic.

Addresses were presented by both houses to the king, praying that measures might be taken to solicit the co-operation of other nations in what Lord Grenville emphatically declared to be "the most glorious measure that had ever been adopted by any legislative body in the world."

In March, 1807, the United States passed a law, forbidding the importation of slaves into any place within the jurisdiction of the Union. They had, as has been already mentioned, prohibited their foreign slave-trade in 1794.

Having gained this vantage ground, the abolitionists of the British slave-carrying trade turned their energies against slavery itself. With this branch of their labours we are not now concerned; it belongs to the history of the West Indies. Here, then, it would be well if the sad story of wrong and suffering connected with West Africa might be brought to a close; leaving the reader to suppose that the European nations, who had vied with England in wrong, would be induced to follow her example of repentance and reformation. But the truth may not be withheld. Africa is still convulsed with strife and bloodshed, though England takes rank now as her most powerful defender, instead of her greatest persecutor. International jealousies have arisen, which have favoured the continuance of the slave-trade. The United States and France have objected to con-

cede the right of searching vessels carrying their respective flags, although the same privilege was offered by the British government to their ships of war. Through the exertions of the Prince Regent and Lord Castlereagh, the assembled sovereigns, at the congress of Vienna, branded the slave-trade as "a scourge which had long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity." The diplomatic records of England during the last forty years, attest the untiring energy with which its foreign ministers have striven for the complete abolition of this great social crime; Viscount Palmerston, in particular, deserves cordial commendation for his long-continued and able negotiations with European powers, with a view to forming treaties which should prevent their flags being used by the buccaneers, whose merchandise is man.

Several parliamentary committees have sat in England of late years, to investigate the existing state of the slave-trade; and the evidence adduced has been, throughout, of the most painful and harrowing character. It is difficult to express in few words the facts connected with this revolting subject, and yet more difficult to find language wherewith to express a just idea of its horrors, from which the reader shall not turn away in utter abhorrence; but as the traffic still exists, and might, on the slightest encouragement, or by the diminution of our present exertions be renewed, even by Englishmen, with tenfold activity, it is necessary to enter into some details respecting that evil which Great Britain yearly devotes no inconsiderable portion of her revenue to suppress.

The state of society in a vast country, where a small but powerful class is constantly engaged in making war on scattered hamlets with intent to seize the people and sell them into slavery, may be conceived. Weeks and months are devoted to pillage and murder; sometimes the villages are attacked at mid-day—more frequently at midnight—when all that offer resistance are sacrificed on the spot. In these dreadful scenes death may be viewed in all its forms: here the warrior, expiring as he had fought for his hearth and home, conquered, but not enslaved; there a woman, with a child in her arms, staggering from her hiding-place which the flames of the burning village had reached, and perishing in a last effort of maternal tenderness to save her infant; while around are the shrieks of despair, the groans of the wounded, the fiendish shouts of the armed and often mounted captors, rising above the piteous moans and supplications of the young women reserved for their brutal lusts. Powerful chiefs, or kings, as they are termed, frequently set forth on these "slave hunts," in which the destruction of life is enormous in proportion to the number captured. In five such expeditions of the Chief of Bornou, at least 20,000 human beings are computed to have been slaughtered before three-fourths of that number had been obtained as slaves. (*Denham and Clapperton's Travels*, p. 214.)

Laird, during his ascent of the Niger, in 1832, states that scarce a night passed but the screams of the captured victims might be heard, and describes the advance of the robbers as having been marked by the smoke of the burning villages, five or six being in a blaze at once. (*Vide Laird and Oldfield's Narrative*.)

The manner in which the unhappy slaves are driven to the coast is equal in ferocity to their mode

\* See *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave*

*Trade, by the British Parliament*; a remarkable work, written by Thomas Clarkson.

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of capture. Attached to a long hide rope or chain, they are driven like cattle by the miscreants whose thirst for blood is stimulated by European gold, along a route which may be tracked by the whitened bones, or newly mangled carcases of their victims. The whip and the goad are unsparingly used to hasten their speed; children are forced over stony paths until their little footsteps may be traced by blood; women, in a state unfit to travel, give birth to infants on the road; and, according to M. Mendez, five-twelfths of the whole perish on the journey from their sacked villages to the coast. (*Buxton on the Slave Trade*, p. 87.) Here new sufferings await the survivors; if not immediately embarked, they are kept, scantily fed, within the miserable sheds called barracoons, all huddled together in filth and misery. The cruelties, often wantonly practised by the keepers of these loathsome prisons, are too fearful to record. To avoid the expense of keep in case of a dull or overstocked market, the sickly, old, and infirm, are taken, says Lander, (describing what he saw at Badagry,) into the middle of the river, pinioned, weighted, and drowned.—(*Lander's Records*, Vol. II., pp. 241, 250.) The practice of destroying the unsaleable portion of the captives does not seem to have been at all an uncommon one. Several travellers allude to it: among others, Mr. Leonard says that, about 1830, a number of slaves who were unsaleable at Loango, were conveyed to the side of a hill beyond the town, and knocked on the head in cold blood; and this, as the simplest matter of course, to save the cost of maintenance.—(*Leonard's Voyage to Western Africa*, p. 147.)

We now come to the shipment, and the horrible interval commonly called "the middle passage." It being the interest of the skipper to land as many slaves as he can, he pursues, according to Captain Matson, R.N., the following inhuman course. If a vessel, moderately crowded, will carry 300, he crams 450 in her for the sake of testing the strength of the slaves, as those who are not likely to cross the Atlantic, sickened and die during the early days of the voyage. Directly any poor creatures show signs of weakness, they are put on one side on the deck—no food or water is given them, they are left to perish, and then thrown overboard to the sharks, who, in numbers, follow the slave ship during its entire voyage.—(*Parl. Committee*, 1st Report, 1848, p. 102.)

J. E. Cliffe, M. D., who had himself been engaged in the slave-trade, in his evidence before parliament, in 1848-'9, described the diabolical cruelties he had witnessed in the course of transporting from home and country these unfortunates, who might well envy the fate of convicted felons. "Boys," he says, "are laid parallel on their sides. If they do not lie so, a plank is put upon them, and a sailor will get upon it, and jam it down, so as to make them fit compact." He further states, "Slaves are packed in upon their sides; laid in, heads amongst arms and legs, so that it is very difficult frequently, till they have become very much emaciated, so as to leave a little room, for them to get up alone, without the whole section moving together; when some have died, that of course makes room for the remainder." According to this witness, three tiers of slaves are stowed away upon their sides in a space of six feet, viz., eighteen inches for each tier; the timbers of the ship occupying the rest of the room. Their sufferings from thirst are so intense that it is believed if brought on deck the mere sight of salt water would induce many to spring overboard.

This account, incredible though it seems, is confirmed by much good authority. Commander Montreson states (*Sugar Committee*, 1849,) "In the vessel I took with the *Cygnat*, the first man was placed against the side of the vessel with his legs pinioned, and another man was put between his legs, and another between his legs, and so on; and then on the other side of the deck, other men were placed, pinioned in the same way."

One witness (Hook, 2nd Report, 3,913) describes the packing of the slaves as being "like herrings in a barrel;" another (Hoare, 3rd Report, 6,099) "as more like a box of figs and raisins than anything else." Mr. Smith (2nd Report, 3,788) likens the position of the slaves on board to "a swarm of bees settled on the bough of a tree, and looking like one black mass."

Imagine a tropical climate, a narrow hatchway to admit air, thermometer 120° to 130° Fahrenheit, a short supply of water, various diseases and ulcers afflicting more or less every individual; no cleansing, no removal of filth, and an indiscriminate mingling of the comparatively healthy, the dying, and the dead; the putrifying corpses being left untouched sometimes for three or four days, and forming a dense mass of corruption, and there is a faint picture of that Gehenna of the waters, a slave ship. It can excite no surprise that half of those embarked never reach the intended port. Mr. Bandinel, after detailing one fearful case to the committee of 1848, in which an eye-witness could not "by any stretch of imagination, conceive how the powers of human existence could have supported twenty days in this floating hell;" yet he added that there were "quantities of such cases."

There is, I fear, no reason to doubt the exact truth of these horrible statements. When a very young man, I witnessed all the stages above mentioned, and can never think, even now, of any one of them, without a shudder of deep disgust. I have seen the unhappy negroes driven to the coast, pent up in barracoons, jammed together in that awful Middle Passage, sold as slaves, and finally worked to death in the few or many years their masters might think most profitable; and I am fain to use the words of other witnesses in describing scenes, at which my memory sickens, losing all power of conveying the details of a traffic which seems to have the direct effect of rendering all concerned in it, either as sufferers or sinners—lower than brutes, or worse than fiends.

Fearful, however, as are the pictures furnished by the slave-trade, even at the present moment, they do not awake any longer the unmixed horror they formerly did. It is unhappily only too true that the sufferings of the negroes in the Middle Passage are even enhanced by the necessity of concealing these now contraband cargoes; but is it nothing that the black night of despair is broken to the unfortunates by the fact that friendly vessels are watching to release them, and that some thousands are annually rescued from intolerable bondage? In such a cause, will not God be with us? Few that have witnessed the capture of a slave-ship will fail to rank the sight as the most exciting, the saddest, and yet the gladdest of their lives. One such scene I remember vividly: the boats of the frigate in which I served gave chase to a slaver; the commander (a ferocious-looking brigand) finding escape hopeless, and our fire beginning to affect his crew, set all sail and endeavoured to beach his vessel. As soon as she



struck, the slaves who crowded the decks were flung overboard in the hope that they would swim to the beach, despite the numerous sharks awaiting to intercept their passage. At length the commander and his crew, hard pressed by the rapidly advancing fire of our marines, themselves plunged into the surf, where several perished from the musketry, and by the sharks. When the ship was boarded, the stench was intolerable; notwithstanding the numbers who had been on deck, the hold was filled with slaves, jammed so closely together, that the flesh on many of their sides had mortified; and from being so long kept in a crouched sitting posture, few were able to stand upright. Some, on being released from their noisome dungeon, limped to the ship's coppers, where their daily scanty food was being cooked, and thrust their skinny arms into the boiling fluid, in their eagerness to obtain a handful of the scalding grain, which was devoured without cooling, with an avidity which, together with their famine-stricken appearance, told its own sad tale. Ophthalmia, and diseases without name or number, were rife among them; all were carefully nursed, but many were beyond human aid, and sunk, despite of medical attendance, and every restorative means. The remnant, when recovered from the idiotic stupor to which they had been reduced by brutal treatment, clung to the feet of our seamen, wept, cried, laughed, danced, alternately, and exhibited the most affecting indications of gratitude to their deliverers. I verily believe that there was not a man of the whole crew who would not have risked life and even liberty in their behalf; and if ever the shedding of blood be lawful, surely it must be when it is spilt in a struggle to "undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke."—*Isaiah lvi. 6.*

Would England, then, be justified in tamely sitting by to witness the commission of such atrocities, as she well knows to be of necessity involved in the slave-trade; and if she did, how long could she expect to retain that great maritime power—those unrivalled resources—which, together with her insulated position, peculiarly fit her to be the mediator between contending parties, and the defender of the oppressed. True, it is not a light work that she has undertaken; her best and most devoted sons strove for twenty years for the abolition of the slave-trade, opposing British virtue against British covetousness. Their efforts at first seemed only to add fuel to the fire they so ardently strove to extinguish, while it brought upon them a heavy burden of reproach and calumny. And precisely the same effects which then attended individual, now follow national efforts. The spoiler clutches more fiercely than ever the prey about to be wrenched from him, and avarice grasps eagerly the unholy gains of a traffic which has at length been denounced as criminal by every power in Europe, and every civilized power in America. The extent to which it is still carried on is amazing. It is scarcely credible that any country should have supported the incessant drainage of her population, of which Africa has now been the victim for nearly three centuries, without becoming an absolute desert.

The annexed table will afford some idea of the state of the slave-trade during the life-time of the present generation. It is framed from the statements prepared in 1849 by the late Mr. Bandinel, who for thirty years was chief in the slave department in the Foreign-office, Downing-street. The calculations are of course only approximative. From the date of its commencement, the total number of African victims is believed to amount to twenty million.

*Number of Slaves annually Exported and Imported westward from Africa, from 1788 to 1840 inclusive.*

| Date.                | Slaves exported. | Slaves imported. | Spanish Colonies. | Portuguese Colonies. | Other Countries. | Captured by Cruisers | Average Casualties on Voyage. |         |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------|
|                      |                  |                  |                   |                      |                  |                      | Average Proportion.           | Amount. |
| 1788 . . . . .       | 100,000          | 86,000           | 25,000            | 18,000               | 44,000           | —                    | 14 per cent.                  | 14,000  |
| 1798 to 1805 . . . . | 85,000           | 73,000           | 15,000            | 20,000               | 38,000           | —                    | 14 "                          | 12,000  |
| 1805 to 1810 . . . . | 85,000           | 73,000           | 15,000            | 25,000               | 33,000           | —                    | 14 "                          | 12,000  |
| 1810 to 1815 . . . . | 93,000           | 80,000           | 30,000            | 30,000               | 20,000           | —                    | 14 "                          | 13,000  |
| 1815 to 1817 . . . . | 106,600          | 80,000           | 32,000            | 31,000               | 17,000           | —                    | 25 "                          | 26,600  |
| 1817 to 1819 . . . . | 106,600          | 80,000           | 34,000            | 34,000               | 12,000           | —                    | 25 "                          | 26,600  |
| 1819 to 1825 . . . . | 103,000          | 77,200           | 39,000            | 37,000               | —                | 1,200                | 25 "                          | 25,800  |
| 1825 to 1830 . . . . | 125,000          | 94,000           | 40,000            | 50,000               | —                | 4,000                | 25 "                          | 31,000  |
| 1830 to 1835 . . . . | 78,500           | 58,900           | 40,000            | 15,000               | —                | 3,900                | 25 "                          | 19,600  |
| 1835 to 1840 . . . . | 135,800          | 101,900          | 29,000            | 65,000               | —                | 7,900                | 25 "                          | 33,900  |
| 1840 . . . . .       | 64,114           | 48,086           | 14,470            | 30,000               | —                | 3,616                | 25 "                          | 16,028  |
| 1841 . . . . .       | 45,097           | 33,823           | 11,857            | 16,000               | —                | 5,966                | 25 "                          | 11,274  |
| 1842 . . . . .       | 28,400           | 21,300           | 3,150             | 14,200               | —                | 3,950                | 25 "                          | 7,100   |
| 1843 . . . . .       | 55,062           | 41,297           | 8,000             | 30,500               | —                | 2,797                | 25 "                          | 13,765  |
| 1844 . . . . .       | 54,102           | 40,577           | 10,000            | 26,000               | —                | 4,577                | 25 "                          | 13,525  |
| 1845 . . . . .       | 36,758           | 27,569           | 1,350             | 22,700               | —                | 3,519                | 25 "                          | 9,189   |
| 1846 . . . . .       | 76,117           | 57,088           | 1,700             | 52,600               | —                | 2,788                | 25 "                          | 19,029  |
| 1847 . . . . .       | 84,356           | 63,267           | 1,500             | 57,800               | —                | 3,967                | 25 "                          | 21,089  |

This table, it must be recollected, does not include the victims carried off by the Mahomedans to Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and the borders of Asia, who may be estimated at about 50,000 per annum.

Sir Fowell Buxton, in his valuable work on the slave-trade and its remedy, published in 1839, calculated, from the most authentic sources of informa-

tion, that the number of slaves imported annually into Brazil, in South America, then amounted to 78,331; and into Cuba, the largest of the West India islands, to 60,000. Besides these, he estimated the number rescued annually from slave ships, on their way to either of these settlements, at 8,294; and of those who were lost, from various casualties on the passage, such as shipwreck, suicide (which is very

common), or being thrown into the sea during a chase, a failure of provisions or water, he supposed the number would reach at least 3,375; thus making a total of 150,000 annually conveyed from Africa. The mortality consequent upon the slave-trade he reckoned at 125 per cent., viz.: capture, march and detention, 100 per cent.; middle passage, 25; after landing, and in the seasoning, 20: so that for every 1,000 negroes alive at the end of a year after their deportation, and available to the planter, 1,450 had been sacrificed.—(Pp. 26, 168.)

It has been before stated, that to nations and to companies the trade, even in a pecuniary sense, has proved a losing one; with individuals the case has been different; and enormous gains are now reaped, principally, it is to be feared, by those who secretly supply, in some form or other, the capital for this iniquitous traffic, of which they share neither the danger, the horror, nor the obloquy, though they cannot escape a double portion of the guilt.

The average cost price of a slave is £4; but it is fully ascertained that only one-third of the annual cargoes are obtained by barter. (*Church Missions in West Africa*, by A. Walker, 1845; p. 40.) The net profits were estimated by Mr. Maclean, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, at about 180 per cent.; and, in support of this opinion, the following instance is quoted by Buxton of the cost and value of a slave cargo, as given by Commissioner Macleay. (Parl. Paper, No. 381, p. 37.)—First cost of cargo taken at 28,000 dollars; provisions, ammunition, wear and tear, &c., 10,600; wages, 13,400—total expense, 52,000; total product, 145,000; leaving a clear profit of £18,640.

The expenses incurred by Great Britain, in her efforts for the abolition of the traffic, have been very large: the charges for the five commissioners appointed to adjudicate on captured slave ships, were, from 1819 to 1841—at Sierra Leone, £135,410; Havanna, £79,507; Rio de Janeiro, £54,316; Surinam, £53,300; London, £42,998: total (shillings and pence excepted), £365,732. Sums paid to foreign powers for their co-operation (principally Spain and Portugal), £2,237,077; bounties, from 1808 to 1840, £1,060,536; support of liberated Africans, £1,372,057; expenditure in and for Sierra Leone, £1,678,724; Gold Coast and Fernando Po, £763,130; pensions, &c., £563,060; for illegal captures, &c., £196,891. Military expenditure, 1808 to 1840, £1,779,357; ordnance and commissariat, £156,205; naval squadron on coast of Africa, from 1808 to 1840, £12,224,000: total, £22,396,753. To bring this expenditure down to 1852, we may add for the above items, excepting naval squadron, £2,000,000; and for the naval squadron, at the rate of £500,000 per annum, £6,000,000: making a grand total of £30,396,753, irrespective of £20,000,000 paid for the liberation of slaves in the West Indies.

The various European and American powers have entered into conventions for the suppression of the slave-carrying trade, which they respectively abandoned at the following periods:—Denmark, 1792; United States, 1807; Great Britain, 1807; Sweden, 1813; Netherlands, 1814; France, 1815; Spain, 1820; Buenos Ayres, 1824; Columbia, 1825; Mexico, 1826; Brazil, 1829; Sardinia, Portugal, 1836; Hanse Towns, Tuscany, Bolivia, and Peru, 1837; Naples, 1838; Hayti, Venezuela, Chili, and Uruguay, 1839; Texas, 1840; Austria, Prussia, and Russia, 1841. Spain, Portugal, and Brazil have, however, violated every treaty, convention, and pledge

given by them for the prevention of this unbalanced trade. The two former states, who owe so much to England, who lavished her blood and treasure in their defence, have made a mockery of all remonstrance; and after obtaining large sums of money from her exchequer as a compensation for the losses they might sustain by abolishing the slave-trade, shamelessly renewed their flagitious course, aided by the very money which they had received on condition of its abandonment.

Despite the vigilance of a considerable force of English and French vessels of war, and the large rewards offered for the capture of slave-ships, the trade, until within the past year or two, has been carried on with fearful activity from the east as well as the west coast of Africa, and is said to be diminished only because the Brazilian market is overstocked, and strong fears have arisen of a slave insurrection. The traffic will flourish probably just so long as it continues to be profitable; that is, until every slave barracoon found on the coast be destroyed; and the crime itself declared by all civilized nations as piracy, and treated as such. By act 5 Geo. IV. c. 77, (31st March, 1824,) British slave dealers are declared to be guilty of piracy, felony, and robbery, and on conviction to suffer death without benefit of clergy, and to lose lands, goods, and chattels. By 1 Vic., c. 91, the punishment of death was commuted to transportation. *Wherever* a British subject commits this crime, he is liable to the punishment. Not so with other nations. Thus, when slave vessels are captured by British cruisers, no punishment is inflicted on the captains or crews, who consequently are no sooner released than they recommence their old trade with an increased stock of experience. The inconsistency of this practice is self-evident. An eminent Brazilian, the late Marquis of Barbacena, told our chargé d'affaires (Mr. Gore Ousley) that he could point out a ready, effectual, and economical method of putting an end to the traffic, at least as far as Brazil was concerned. Being pressed to explain himself, he replied, "The first vessel you take that affords a good reason, whether by resistance, killing your men, throwing their Africans overboard, or some such acts, hang the master, mates, supercargo, and crew, at the yard-arms, and let the vessel come into Rio Harbour some fine day thus ornamented."—(*Notes on the Slave-trade*, by W. Gore Ousley, Esq., late minister-plenipotentiary to the States of La Plata.) There is, however, another, and I believe a better, resource, which has been too much neglected, though Buxton and others have ably advocated it. Instead of endeavouring to compel or persuade Spain and Portugal to renounce their most profitable but most abhorrent staple of merchandise, let us rather direct our efforts to the encouragement of commerce on the long desolated African shores; and, by showing the tyrants who supply their European tempters with flesh and blood, that a more profitable revenue might be obtained, as Burke finely expressed it, by eating the fruit, than by destroying the root of man's labour, induce them to unite for the abolition of the traffic; show the chiefs how to obtain a better revenue by honest means than they now do by flagrant cruelty, their co-operation is certain, and a fair field will at the same time be opened for the spread of those religious principles, without which no real progress can be anticipated. One zealous effort of this kind has already been made in the Niger expedition, to which we shall have occasion to allude



when describing the commerce of Western Africa, and the varied and rich capabilities of the soil. Meanwhile, let those who abhor slavery, cease as individuals to consume its products; let this righteous principle be sustained and manifested by the payment of a temporarily enhanced price for colonial or free-labour produce, in preference to the somewhat cheaper sugar, coffee, cotton, rice, and tobacco, cultivated at the cost of blood and tears.

For myself I believe that the planter who uses slave-labour must eventually be undersold by the employer of free men. To this end we must look less to government measures and protective tariffs, than to the improving moral feeling of the nation, which, joining a true sense of the inherent iniquity of the system, to the horror inspired by its loathsome and cruel results, may, if wisely directed, be instrumental in procuring its complete abolition.

## CHAPTER II.

### BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN WESTERN AFRICA—THE GAMBIA—SIERRA LEONE—THE GOLD COAST—THEIR ORIGIN, POPULATION, COMMERCE, &c.

THE western coast of Africa, between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Cape of Good Hope, is bordered by the Northern and Southern Atlantic for a distance of about 7,000 miles. The British possessions in this extensive region consist of isolated forts or stations on the intertropical portion termed the *Windward Coast*, from the direction of the trade winds. These are divisible into three sections, which, though perfectly distinct and under separate governors, are alike in their administration; in the almost complete absence of white colonists; in the nature of their commercial products; and in their civilizing influences on the millions of the African race distributed in numerous petty kingdoms all around them. It does not come within the limits of this work to enter into much detail respecting a country not adapted for the occupation of the Anglo-Saxon race: the present chapter is therefore intended to afford only a brief sketch of the respective history, character, and trade of the British settlements, whose general commerce, and success in advancing Christian civilization, through the well-directed labours of missionary societies, will be subsequently shown in a general view.

#### THE GAMBIA.

**HISTORY.**—The first record of European intercourse with the country in the vicinity of the Gambia, is dated 1456, when the navigator, Cadamosto, by order of Prince Henry of Portugal, visited this great river, and found that even then the Portuguese were in the habit of landing at night, surprising some of the populous villages on its banks, and carrying the inhabitants into slavery. (Bandinel, p. 19.) From this period we know little of the proceedings at the Gambia, beyond the fact of the Dutch having supplanted the Portuguese, until the time of the refusal of the English Captain Jobson, in 1620, to purchase slaves there, and his attempt to establish a trade in less exceptionable commodities.

The Company (chartered by James I.) on behalf of whom Jobson acted (see p. 166), proceeded to form factories for the prosecution of a traffic in gold and

drugs. A small islet, 250 yards long and 50 broad, about 30 miles from the mouth of the Gambia, where it is nearly eight miles wide, was strongly fortified, and termed *James Fort*. Another position was occupied at *Joar*, 100 miles farther up the river, which was explored in 1618-20 as far as Tenda, by George Thomson, a Barbary merchant, in the service of the association, and in 1723, by a Captain Stubbs, under instructions from the Duke of Chandos, one of the directors of the African Company established in 1672. Repeated contests had meanwhile taken place between the English and French, and James Fort was destroyed in 1688. At length it was agreed that we should maintain the exclusive commerce of the Gambia, and France of the Senegal. This arrangement was confirmed by the treaty of Paris, in 1814, whereupon Fort Louis, at the entrance of the Senegal, which we had captured in 1809, and the island of Goree, were restored. On this understanding, England and France now occupy their respective stations on these rivers, but the latter holds on sufferance a *comptoir* or trading post at Albredar or Albrida, near Jillifree, which is almost opposite to James Island. At the close of the last European war, the British Government, with a view to the prevention of the slave trade, and the promotion of legitimate commerce, resolved to form a new settlement at the mouth of the Gambia; for this purpose the island of St. Mary was obtained by purchase from the native king or chief of the adjacent territory, called Combo, and an annual payment of 100 dollars was guaranteed to his successors. A town, named Bathurst, was founded in 1816. In 1818 a similar purchase was made on the opposite bank of the river from the King of Barra, which comprised a tract of country extending one mile inland, and about thirty-six miles along the river, to the west and east of Barra Point. The king of Barra was then the most powerful chief in this neighbourhood, and levied a tax of £20 on each vessel that entered the river. In 1849 we purchased another tract of territory, near Baccow, which extends south-west from Cape St. Mary about five miles, and then trends to the eastward, and reaches the Gambia.”\*

Sir Charles McCarthy, when governor of Sierra Leone, acquired by purchase, from the King of Cattabar, McCarthy's Island, distant about 175 miles up the Gambia, by the windings of the river. There are several other stations and places on and near the river, belonging to the Crown, or to the merchants of England.

\* *Dr. Madden's Report*; Parl. Papers, 5th August 1842; part ii., p. 178.

**TOPOGRAPHY.**—The country in the vicinity of the Gambia, for many miles from the sea-shore, is flat, but diversified by fine park-like scenery. The mouth of the river, in  $13^{\circ} 30'$  N. lat., is about nine miles wide, between *Bird Island* on the north, and *Cape St. Mary* on the south. The depth of water is so great, that a ship drawing eight feet may proceed, at any period of the year, to a distance of 360 miles; and smaller vessels may navigate to the Barraconda Falls, 400 miles, by the windings of the stream, from the Atlantic. Here a ledge of rocks, which nearly crosses the river, impedes further passage; but during the rainy season the water rises nearly thirty feet over the rocky barrier; boats can at all times penetrate to a considerable distance, as was proved by Governor Macdonnell in January, 1849. The river is extremely tortuous, especially above the falls, with banks not in general more than forty feet high. Its sources are not known to Europeans: it was long supposed to be an anastomosing branch of the great Niger, until the fallacy of this conjecture was shown by Mungo Park. The total length of the river must exceed 900 miles. A fine agricultural country appears to extend inland, improving in quality as it recedes from the river banks.

*St. Mary's Island*, on which the chief town is built, is little more than a sand-bank, five miles in length, with a breadth varying from a few yards to half a mile. It is situated about three miles from Cape St. Mary, on the southern side of the entrance of the Gambia, and separated from the main land by *Sarra* or *Oyster Creek*, a narrow strait a few yards wide, so called from the excellent oysters which are found abundantly on the mangrove bushes, as is not unfrequently the case on other tropical coasts. A small portion of the dry land on the island has been reclaimed by embankments, and the sandy nature of the soil contributes greatly to the salubrity of Bathurst, as it prevents any large deposit of vegetable matter in a state of decomposition. The mangrove swamps in the immediate vicinity of the town are covered twice by the tide in every twenty-four hours, and appear to exercise little noxious influence, the type of fever being more fatal in the interior, to which the mangrove-bush does not extend—a fact contrary to popular notions on this subject.

*Bathurst* is built on the east side of the island, on a point, whose chief recommendations were its suitability for the site of a strong battery, and the excellence of its deep and fine harbour. The town is well laid out; there are two large streets, consisting of substantial stone and brick houses; the government-house, on which £15,000 has been expended since 1816, is now a commodious residence, and the native inhabitants have clean and tolerably good dwellings: the island itself is also gradually becoming a more salubrious residence. Governor Macdonnell has made successful efforts to promote drainage and cleanliness, by establishing an annual rate of 4 per cent. on all real and landed property at Bathurst, the proceeds of which are expended by the inhabitants themselves on local improvements.

*Cape St. Mary*, on the lee-shore of the mouth of the Gambia, is sixty feet above the sea level, the soil a dry loam, superincumbent on a bed of clay. The country, for several miles along the coast, is almost clear of wood; the land descends in a gentle slope from the sea for some distance towards the interior, where a creek carries off the drainage to the ocean. There are no swamps or pestilential effluvia; but, on the contrary, a fine sea-breeze and cool land airs.

Here the chief town ought to have been formed, and been connected with the harbour at St. Mary's, by a road and bridge over the Oyster Creek. The home government, in conformity with the suggestion of Mr. Macdonnell, have authorised the acquisition of about ten square miles of contiguous country, for the establishment of a military post, and the formation of an agricultural settlement, of which the colonists stand in much need.

There is another settlement at the Gambia, about 175 miles (following the windings of the river) from St. Mary's on McCarthy's island, which is about five miles and a-half long by one broad, and so low that, during the rainy season, a considerable portion of the land becomes a swamp. It has a military post, termed Fort St. George, and three or four stone houses belonging to mercantile establishments, with a Wesleyan chapel and school; and its valuable position has already rendered the place of some importance. The other islands in the river, claimed by Great Britain, called *Elephant*, *Deer*, *Dean*, and *Kayaye*, are all low, swampy, and inconsiderable.

The country between the Gambia and the Senegal rivers is chiefly comprised in the kingdoms of Lalam, Bondou, Barra, and Woolli; it is 600 miles in length, and contains about 1,000,000 of inhabitants, who are generally Jolloffs, Foulahs, or Mandingoes. There are also several small flourishing chiefdoms on the south bank of the Gambia.

**CLIMATE AND DISEASES.**—No British settlement, with the exception of Sierra Leone, has for many years been supposed to possess a climate so fatal to Europeans, as the Gambia. Its character in this respect has much improved of late, and its medical statistics, as given in the returns of the Army Medical board, and the public Registrar's books at Bathurst, show an annually decreasing mortality. The extremely bad reputation of the climate was principally occasioned by the appalling mortality which overwhelmed a corps of white troops sent to the African coast in lieu of other punishment, and stationed at the Gambia, in May, 1825. From the official statement prepared by Colonel Tulloch, it would appear, that in nineteen months, 234 soldiers out of 420, fell victims to the climate. Governor Macdonnell, however, remarks, in his report on the Blue Book for 1851, that "no parallel can be drawn between the Bathurst of that day and of the present period," and perhaps justly considers that there is as little ground for surprise at the mortality in question occurring in a corps of the most depraved and dissipated character, stationed, literally in a swamp, as Bathurst then was, as there would be "at death ensuing from a draught of poison, or a bullet." There certainly is no room to doubt the improved sanitary condition of the town. Staff-surgeon Kehoe, an officer of considerable reputation and experience on the coast, whose evidence is given at full length in the Governor's report, published in 1850, states that the number of deaths from all causes amongst the resident European population, during five years ending December 1849, was only 4.40 per cent.; whilst the deaths of military officers at Bathurst during the same period, amounted to 11.11 per cent.

The changing annually the officers employed on the coast is now looked upon as exposing a superfluous number of unacclimatized persons to the risk of the "seasoning" fever. The deficiency of accommodation for both officers and men has recently been made the subject of serious remonstrance, and will, it is understood, be speedily remedied by the erection



of barracks, as before-mentioned, at Cape St. Mary, between which place and Bathurst a military road is now in course of formation.

It may not be uninteresting to remark, that during several months, both at Bathurst and at Cape St. Mary, the thermometer seldom reaches the elevation which it attains in the East and West Indies. From December to the beginning of May, there is not unfrequently actually cold weather, the thermometer ranging from 54° to 58° in the morning, and attaining an average height at noon of from 66° to 74°—at Cape St. Mary not more than 68°.

The temperature at M'Carthy's Island is much higher; the thermometer there frequently reaching 110° in the shade, and the rainy season is of longer duration than nearer to the mouth of the river. The

rains at Bathurst last from about the 10th of July to the 20th of October.

GOVERNMENT.—The settlements are presided over by a Governor, aided by Executive and Legislative councils, under letters patent, dated June 24, 1843.

MILITARY DEFENCE.—Detachments of the West India regiments, to the number of about 280 rank and file. There is a "Royal Gambia Militia," having three companies of eighty men each; two of infantry, and one of artillery. There are military stations at Bathurst, Fort Bullen on the Barra shore opposite Bathurst, Cape St. Mary, and M'Carthy's Island.

POPULATION.—The number and classification of the inhabitants of St. Mary's Island was at three periods as follows:—

| Class              | 1823.  |          |        | 1826.  |          |        | 1833.  |          |        |
|--------------------|--------|----------|--------|--------|----------|--------|--------|----------|--------|
|                    | Males. | Females. | Total. | Males. | Females. | Total. | Males. | Females. | Total. |
| Europeans . . .    | 37     | 8        | 45     | 28     | 2        | 2      | 31     | 5        | 36     |
| Mulattoes . . .    | 29     | 50       | 135    | { 47   | { 44     | 122    | 51     | 75       | 126    |
| Ditto children . . | 20     | 26       |        | { 17   | { 14     |        | —      | —        |        |
| Blacks . . . . .   | 428    | 467      | 1,204  | { 679  | { 624    | 1,577  | 1,399  | 1,179    | 2,578  |
| Ditto children . . | 140    | 169      |        | { 112  | { 162    |        | —      | —        |        |
| Sailors . . . . .  | 152    | —        | 152    | 131    | —        | 131    | —      | —        | —      |
| Strangers . . . .  | 293    | 10       | 309    | 7      | —        | 7      | —      | —        | —      |
| Ditto children . . | 2      | 4        |        | —      | —        | —      | —      | —        |        |
| Total . . . . .    | 1,101  | 744      | 1,845  | 1,021  | 846      | 1,867  | 1,481  | 1,259    | 2,740  |

The population of all the settlements on the 31st of March, 1851, was as follows:—

| Class.            | St. Mary's. | M'Carthy's Island. | Barra Point. | Cape St. Mary. | Total. |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------|--------|
| <i>Whites—</i>    |             |                    |              |                |        |
| Males . . . . .   | 167         | 8                  | 1            | 1              | 177    |
| Females . . . . . | 13          | 0                  | 0            | 1              | 14     |
| <i>Coloured—</i>  |             |                    |              |                |        |
| Males . . . . .   | 2,192       | 637                | 101          | 35             | 2,996  |
| Females . . . . . | 1,890       | 526                | 74           | 16             | 2,506  |
| <i>Total—</i>     |             |                    |              |                |        |
| Males . . . . .   | 2,559       | 645                | 132          | 37             | 3,173  |
| Females . . . . . | 1,903       | 526                | 74           | 17             | 2,520  |

Births at St. Mary's, in 1851, 144; deaths, 185; marriages, 26.

The annexed table gives the number of acres in crop and pasture, and the quantity of live-stock, in 1851:—

| Description.        | St. Mary Island. | M'Carthy's Island. |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Acres in crop . . . | 8                | 800                |
| Pasture . . . . .   | 40               | 514                |
| Horses . . . . .    | 120              | 60                 |
| Horned cattle . . . | 160              | 200                |
| Sheep . . . . .     | 50               | 50                 |
| Goats . . . . .     | 109              | 100                |

RELIGIOUS ORDINANCES AND EDUCATION have been for several years under the charge of the Wesleyans, whose zealous exertions will be subsequently shown. As regards CRIME, no other statement appears in the Blue Books than that forty-four prisoners had been confined in the gaol at Bathurst during the year 1851.

REVENUE.—In 1830, £1,513; 1840, £4,543; 1850, £7,057; 1851, £8,484; of which the customs yielded £7,720. The Governor has £1,000 a-year, and an al-

lowance of £200 for table money. He is moreover entitled to certain fees as Ordinary, amounting on an average to £100 per annum. The parliamentary grant, in aid of the revenue, is now £5,000 a-year; the military expenditure for 1851, amounted to £15,798.

TARIFF and TAXES—an import duty of 4 per cent. on all British and foreign imports; a farthing per lb additional on all tobacco not prize. Four per cent. on all sales by auction of prize goods (prize tobacco 6d. extra); 1s. per ton on vessels; 6d. per gallon on wine and spirits. Licences for sale of liquors, £10; for auctioneers, £25 per annum. *Monies, &c.*, English.—There is no paper money; the coin in circulation is of various denominations, and is estimated in value at £7,000.

COMMERCE.—The following table, illustrating the financial and commercial progress of the settlements on the Gambia, during the last twelve years, is derived from a comprehensive return, prepared by the late energetic governor, R. G. Macdonnell, C.B. One extraordinary item will be remarked, by means of which large tracts of land have been brought into cultivation; and as the demand for the nut as food in the United States, and for the manufacture of oil in France and other parts of Europe, seems to be greatly increasing, it is difficult to conjecture to what extent the commerce may be carried.

One important fact has been already proved by this new traffic—viz., that the native African is glad and willing to cultivate the soil when assured of a fair return for the produce of his labour; and security and protection for his life and property. At the present time one-third of the produce exported from this settlement is raised by the "tilliebunkas" (*men from the East*) and other labourers, who travel from distances of 500, and even 700 miles in the interior, to visit the Gambia, along the banks of which they hire, from the various chiefs in whose territories they settle, small tracts of land, which they cultivate,

paying their landlords a portion of the proceeds. After remaining, perhaps two or three years, until they have earned sufficient to purchase those goods, the desire for which had induced them to leave their homes, they form themselves into parties of from 20 to 100 in number, and return, to spread among their countrymen the good news of a safe market for agricultural produce. With the increased demand for ground nuts there has been a proportionate augmentation of the supply, nor is there any reason to doubt that the latter will continue to keep pace with the former, while it continues to offer remunerative employment to the vast amount of native labour, which needs no other inducement than a fair market, to employ its energies on the uncounted acres of fertile wilderness which bound for several hundred miles the great water road of the Gambia. A few years ago it would have seemed highly improbable that the export of one article, till then almost unknown, should have reached the value of £145,000; there is much more ground to anticipate, at the present time, that in some ten or twelve years it may

rise to a million sterling. "Already," says Governor Macdonnell, "a community of commercial interests has begun to bind together the various tribes which people the banks of the Gambia, for a distance of 400 miles from its mouth." New thoughts and desires have arisen to vary the monotony of savage life, and the dangers and excitements of war can be no longer indulged in without the sacrifice of many things which in the first marked step towards civilization have from luxuries become necessities; for the Gambia chiefs, if not themselves employed in the trade, have a new interest in the soil, and cannot engage in war and disturbances without driving away the profitable tenants, whose pursuits require that they should have more than five months of unmolested leisure for tilling the soil, gathering and disposing of the produce.—(*Blue Book*, 1852.)

It is indeed most fortunate, or rather, providential, that this new article should have arisen, the more so as several others, such as bees' wax and mahogany, which used to form the chief items in the export list, have much diminished:—

| Years. | Revenue. | Imports.  | Exports.  | No. of Vessels entering. | Tonnage Inwards. |          |         | No. of Seamen. | Ground Nuts Exp. |         |
|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------------|------------------|----------|---------|----------------|------------------|---------|
|        |          |           |           |                          | British.         | Foreign. | Total.  |                | Tons.            | Value.  |
| 1840   | £4,543   | £105,441  | £124,587  | 255                      | 7,087            | 6,922    | 14,009  | 2,023          | 1,211            | £15,209 |
| 1841   | 3,563    | 96,708    | 144,610   | 200                      | 7,508            | 8,051    | 15,559  | 1,622          | 2,540            | 29,766  |
| 1842   | 5,932    | 111,153   | 146,939   | 290                      | 9,218            | 8,893    | 18,111  | 2,515          | 2,169            | 27,639  |
| 1843   | 6,486    | 85,827    | 108,404   | 306                      | 6,900            | 9,496    | 16,396  | 2,655          | 2,608            | 31,900  |
| 1844   | 5,257    | 96,152    | 136,753   | 261                      | 6,934            | 10,978   | 17,912  | 2,085          | 3,425            | 43,581  |
| 1845   | 6,565    | 119,187   | 154,801   | 241                      | 7,250            | 13,882   | 21,132  | 2,111          | 4,027            | 52,270  |
| 1846   | 6,006    | 95,403    | 164,805   | 214                      | 6,905            | 12,750   | 19,655  | 1,878          | 5,996            | 74,635  |
| 1847   | 6,886    | 90,706    | 178,090   | 216                      | 5,618            | 19,769   | 25,387  | 2,145          | 8,236            | 99,937  |
| 1848   | 6,560    | 68,960    | 158,590   | 217                      | 9,063            | 15,253   | 24,316  | 1,991          | 8,636            | 103,778 |
| 1849   | 5,391    | 73,410    | 107,802   | 221                      | 6,494            | 11,545   | 18,039  | 1,873          | —                | 72,237  |
| 1850   | 7,057    | 86,036    | 142,366   | 212                      | 5,376            | 14,331   | 19,707  | 1,676          | 6,009            | 52,175  |
| 1851   | 8,484    | 107,011   | 186,404   | 239                      | 3,895            | 21,596   | 25,491  | 2,071          | 11,094           | 133,133 |
| Total  | 72,730   | 1,135,994 | 1,754,151 | 2,872                    | 82,248           | 153,466  | 235,714 | 24,645         | 55,951           | 736,260 |

In 1851 there were exported from the Gambia settlements, wax, 153 tons; value, £25,699; hides, 61,947; value, £12,389; palm oil, 12,281 gallons, value, £1,944; gum, value, £1,361.

A considerable portion of the trade is carried on from the upper part of the Gambia with Bondou on the Senegal river. In 1844 Governor Macdonnell travelled, not without peril from climate and robbers, from Fattatenda through Woolli, across a large forest to Boolibamy, in the kingdom of Bondou, and entered into arrangements with the Albmamme or Mahomedan sovereign of Bondou, and with the king of Woolli, for the protection of travellers and merchants passing through their territories to the Gambia, on condition of receiving certain annual presents. In a subsequent journey made early in the year 1850, the governor, with a few of the officers of the colony, proceeded in boats, 150 miles beyond the rocks of Barraconda, and 450 miles from Bathurst. Game was abundant, several elephants and hippopotami were shot, and deer and guinea-fowl amply supplied the party with food during the journey: they all returned to the steamer *Dover*, at Barraconda, in perfect health, after bivouacking for fifteen nights in the woods. Near a river which flows into the Upper Gambia from the north, the governor was met by a deputation of the inhabitants of a town called *Jallacoota*. They expressed a strong desire that traders should visit their country,

as they had more corn and ground nuts than they could use, but had no means of bartering them for goods. From this and other circumstances it appears probable that if the British flag were hoisted at the Barraconda Falls, and a small trading post established there, a large, lucrative, and, in all respects, beneficial traffic would be speedily created.

**BULAMA.**—Between the Gambia and our territory of Sierra Leone and its dependencies, we claim, though we do not occupy, the island of *Bulama*, near the entrance of the *Rio Grande*, and about thirty miles to the southward of the Portuguese fort and factory of *Bissao*, formerly a stronghold of the slave-trade.

**ISLES DE LOSS.**—Nearly midway between Bulama island and Sierra Leone, 400 miles to the southward of the Gambia, and sixty miles to the northward of Sierra Leone, are the *Isles de Loss*, in 9° 16' N. lat., and 16° W. long. They are five in number, and were ceded to the British crown in 1818, by Dalla Mahomedu, in consideration of a small annual payment. They are distant from the main land five or six miles. The principal are named *Tamara*, *Factory*, and *Crawfords*; the first, which is the largest, is five miles long by one mile broad. They were supposed to be more healthy than the mainland, in consequence of their elevation, the rocky nature of the ground, and the total absence of vegetation and marshes; but this idea has not been sus-



tained by experience. One hundred and three picked men of good character, exemplary conduct, and with little inclination to inebriety, were landed on the centre island by General Turner on the 23rd of February, 1805. Of these, sixty-two died within the space of eighteen months, exclusive of twenty-one invalidated to England. The remaining twenty men who survived were scarcely fit for any duty.

The chief coast feature between the Gambia and Sierra Leone, irrespective of the above-mentioned islands, is the *Rio Grande*, so named from its appearing to its discoverers a river of magnitude; but Captain Owen, on examination, found it to be a mere inlet receiving some inconsiderable streams. Along the heads of the Grande lies the kingdom of *Foota Jallon*, which is said to extend over a region 350 miles long by 200 broad, inhabited by the Foulahs, a semi-civilized people professing for the most part the Mahomedan religion. The *Nunez River*, about 300 miles to the southward of the Gambia, is an important stream; a vessel drawing twelve feet water may go up to *Kakundy*, a large town about sixty miles from the coast. This district has been a great slave emporium, but as the country produces excellent coffee in abundance, it is hoped the traffic in man will be soon superseded by a more righteous commerce. There are several English and French traders established here; the latter export ground-nuts from the *Nunez*, also from the *Casamanza River*, where they have trading posts, and from the Portuguese settlements at Bissao, Cacheo, and elsewhere.

#### SIERRA LEONE.

**ORIGIN AND HISTORY.**—This peninsula probably obtained its name from the Portuguese discoverers of 1463, in consequence of being the resort of lions (*Sierra Leone* signifying *Lion Mountain*). In 1652, the notorious Sir John Hawkins landed on the adjacent coast, devastated the country with fire and sword, and after perpetrating great atrocities, succeeded in capturing several hundred natives, whom he conveyed in his vessels to the Spanish West Indies for sale. Several European nations established slave-factories here; the English had one at *Bance Island*, in the *Sierra Leone River*, and the Portuguese another in the neighbourhood.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the attention of Christian philanthropists was awakened to the necessity of providing a home in Africa for the numerous poor and destitute negroes who had been brought by their masters to England, and liberated in consequence of the celebrated decision of Chief Justice Mansfield, which declared that they had thereby ceased to be slaves. Their numbers were subsequently increased by many negroes who, during the United States war of Independence, served in the British army and navy with fidelity and courage. Upon the restoration of peace, some were taken to the Bahamas, others to Nova Scotia, and the remainder were disbanded with the troops and seamen in England. Having no claim for parochial relief, they might have perished but for a number of humane gentlemen, who organised a committee "for relieving the black poor." Granville Sharp and Dr. Smeathman (who had resided some time in Africa,) simultaneously proposed the formation of a free settlement on the west coast, and sketched out their respective plans. Dr. Smeathman named Sierra Leone as the most eligible spot, and was encouraged in the idea by many of the negroes having been

originally carried off from this part of the country. The government, considering the poor blacks as a nuisance in the streets, agreed to transport them to Africa, and to supply them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence. The vessels, with more than 400 negroes, and about 80 white people, chiefly women, accompanied by a chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Frazer, sailed from England, in the spring of 1787. On arriving at Sierra Leone, Captain Thompson, R.N., who had charge of the emigrants, purchased for them a tract of the peninsula, comprising twenty square miles of territory, from a native chief, known by the soubriquet of "King Tom," and the bargain was afterwards confirmed by Naimbanna, the king of the country, who resided at the small island of *Robanna*. The expedition was altogether badly planned, and especially as to the season of arrival on the coast. Many died while the vessels were detained in the channel, and also during the voyage; others perished from landing in the rainy season without shelter, some deserted, so that in the course of the first year the population was reduced by one half.

The town was laid out on a beautiful eminence at the south side of the river, and 360 lots, of one acre each, were drawn for and appropriated, 12th June, 1787. Unhappily the government allowed the negroes rum both during the voyage and on landing; the temptation to drink was too great for them and for the white women (many of whom were known to be of immoral character) who were most improperly allowed to accompany the expedition. In September, 1787, there remained 276 settlers; in March, 1788, there were only 130. Mr. Sharpe, apprehensive of a total failure of the project, sent out a brig (the *Myra*) at his own expense, laden with various articles urgently needed, and bearing thirty-nine white and black passengers to the settlement. In 1789, the colonists were compelled to quit their half-finished homes by a neighbouring chief, who resolved on burning their town in retaliation for a similar injury which his own capital had experienced from some English and American seamen. The chief allowed them three days to remove their goods, and at the expiration of that time he fulfilled his threat. Ruin to the whole scheme seemed inevitable. But the benevolence of Granville Sharp was grounded upon principles which forbade him to weary or despair even under the most discouraging circumstances. Seeing that there was little aid to be expected from the government, he organized an association, called the *St. George's Bay Company*, who, in September 1790, sent out a Mr. Faleonbridge to examine and report on the state of the colony, and to afford relief to the distress that had arisen. The agent arrived about twelve months after the flight of the settlers, collected and brought them, sixty-four in number, to a new settlement, which he termed *Granville Town*, situated above *Foura Bay*, and two miles further than the former site had been from the town of the chief who had invaded them. The British legislature subsequently sanctioned the humane efforts of the friends of Africa, and at the close of the session of 1791, an act of parliament was passed for the incorporation of the *Sierra Leone Company*.

In October (19th), 1791, the company held its first meeting—its direction including the honoured names of Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Thornton. A capital of £250,000 was raised; and active efforts made to re-organize the settlement.

The negroes who had been landed at Nova Scotia at the close of the American war greatly desired to find a home in their fatherland. The government agreed to defray the expense of conveyance; and 1,135 of them reached Sierra Leone, 65 having died during the passage. The whole of the colonists were now placed on a new site, to which the appropriate name of "Free Town" was given; a fever, however, which the negroes brought with them, caused great mortality, and half the European settlers perished. The colony next year recovered the blow, and was advancing rapidly to prosperity, when its progress was again stopped by the barbarous proceedings of a French squadron (consisting of two frigates, two brigs, and a cutter), in October, 1794. Officers and men plundered the settlement; broke, destroyed, or burned all within their reach; pillaged the church; tore up all books, especially those that bore any resemblance to bibles; and set fire to the church and the other buildings; thus causing the company a loss of about £50,000. The English ship, *Harpy*, with passengers and goods to the value of £10,000 was seized, and two other vessels were subsequently taken. All this misery and ruin was accomplished despite the pledge of the French government (then at war with England), that neither the ships nor the company engaged in carrying out so noble a design should be injured by the republican arms of France.

It seems, however, very doubtful whether the government of France really sanctioned this disgraceful business. The squadron approached, painted, and made to look like English-built vessels, manned by English-dressed sailors, and with English colours flying. They were mistaken for such by the colonists, until the shots were fired into the town: the British colours were immediately hauled down, but the cannonade still continued. It was reported at the time that the expedition had been equipped by certain private individuals, some of them slave-traders and owners of privateers, who hoped, by these buccaneering proceedings, to prevent the establishment of a free settlement in Africa, which they foresaw would ultimately lead to the destruction of their nefarious traffic. The Sierra Leone Company immediately sent out two vessels, with an assortment of necessities, for the relief of the unfortunates, again reduced to destitution, and once more commenced the re-organization of the settlement, this time successfully; for, in 1798, Freetown contained about 300 houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings, three warehouses, a government house, protected by a palisade, and six pieces of cannon. The inhabitants numbered 1,200, of whom 300 were heads of families. One half supported themselves by farming, the other followed various occupations, labouring as shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. From one to two hundred natives daily visited the settlement to trade in British manufactures. It is alleged, and it is to be feared with truth, that faith was not kept with the immigrants from Nova Scotia as to grants of land; some of them broke out in rebellion, and attacked the government house; but their seditious efforts were quelled by the timely arrival of a transport, the *Asia*, with 550 maroons (including women and children) from Jamaica, *via* Nova Scotia, and a detachment of forty-five rank and file, and two officers of H.M.'s 24th regiment. The insurgents were speedily routed, two killed on the spot, and thirty-five made prisoners, of whom three were tried and executed. On the 18th of November, 1801, the colony was attacked at day-break by a body of Tim-

manee natives, headed by ten of the former rebels. After some loss on both sides, the assailants were repelled; and in March, 1802, a truce was made with them. Some additional troops were sent from Goree (then a British post), and the peace of the colony was supposed to be restored: the settlement was, however, again attacked by 400 natives, including eleven of the banished Nova Scotians. The colonists vigorously repulsed them; but many becoming dispirited by these attacks, abandoned their farms; and the idea of evacuating the settlement became pretty general.

The pecuniary affairs of the Sierra Leone Company were seriously embarrassed by these misfortunes, and its power weakened, notwithstanding that a charter had been granted in 1800, increasing the powers of the government and council, and arming them with legal authority to enforce their decrees. The legislature suspended its annual grants, a parliamentary inquiry was instituted in 1803, and it was recommended that a transfer of the civil and military authority in the colony should be made to the crown. A bill was therefore introduced, and received the royal assent, on the 1st of January, 1808, whereupon the settlement of Sierra Leone was surrendered to the crown; and the philanthropic association withdrew from their beneficent enterprise.\*

Before they resigned their trust, a treaty of peace had been finally arranged with the neighbouring native chiefs: the fortifications were so far advanced as to impart a sense of security; internal order had been restored; and reviving prosperity was manifested in the building of good houses, the extension of cultivation, and the healthiness of the community. Schools, places of worship, and the habits of civilized life had been introduced among the colonists, who, in 1807, numbered 1,871 souls. In fact, the foundation had at length, with much toil and trouble, been firmly laid; and it is not easy to predicate how much good may yet result, and indeed is even now resulting, from the perseverance of a few good men, in spite of seeming checks, through evil report and good report, in establishing a nucleus for freedom and Christian civilization in the centre of enslaved, degraded, heathen Africa. Additional territory has been purchased from time to time from the neighbouring chiefs.

In 1819, an accession of population was made by some rebel negroes, eighty-five in number, sent from Barbadoes. In 1827, a further increase was made by the disbanded pensioners of the African corps and of the 2nd and 4th West India Regiments, who, to the number of 947, had lands assigned them near the different villages. The population has been further augmented by the captives rescued from slave-ships taken on the coast of Africa. Up to 1819, the number liberated by the decisions of the Vice-Admiralty Court of the colony, was 11,278. In 1819, a Mixed Commission Court was established, for the adjudication of prize slaves, and from that year to 1850, 64,625 have been set free in the colony.

**BOUNDARIES AND PHYSICAL ASPECT.**—The boundaries are now stated to be, on the north, the *Mungo River*, or *Little Scarcies*, in 8° 50' N. lat.; on the south, as far as the line which separates the King of Sherboro's territory from that of the Gallinas, including the estuary of the *Sherboro* and its tributaries; on the west the Atlantic; and on the east an imaginary line imperfectly defined. It is supposed that the actual colony is forty miles in length

\* *Wesleyan Missions in Western Africa*, a valuable work by the Rev. W. Fox; pp. 157—172.



from north to south, and thirty from east to west, exclusive of the *Banana* and other islands. The peninsula, from *Cape Sierra Leone* to *Cape Shilling*, extends about thirty-three miles along the Atlantic; it is connected with the main land of *Quia* and *South Bulloms* by an isthmus of about a mile and a-half in breadth: *Yawry Bay*, an inlet of the ocean, washes its southern shore: the Sierra Leone estuary and the *Bunce River* form its northern and eastern boundaries. It is traversed in every direction by ranges of rocky and almost precipitous hills, varying in height from 500 to 2,500 feet above the sea. On the eastern side the mountains recede from the shore at distances varying from half a mile to three miles, and leave a belt of level ground of about twenty-four miles in length; on the south-east the country presents a plain surface of some extent; with these exceptions, there is little flat country in the settlement. The general appearance is that of an irregular congeries of conical mountains, with intervening ravines, which expand as they approach the sea, forming numerous valleys of inconsiderable extent. The river, or rather estuary, on the north, which derives its name from the adjacent territory, is about ten miles wide at the entrance, but narrows at *Kissing Point* to five miles. Timber and other vessels of 400 to 500 tons, can ascend for lading twenty-five miles above Freetown. One arm, containing the islands called *Tasso*, *Bunce*, *Pentillar*, and *Batt*, or *Yerracalliam*, stretches to the northward. Another of less size, termed the *Bunce River*, flows to the south-east, and receives the *Waterloo Creek*: the length of this portion of the estuary is about ten miles, that of the former about twenty miles. The south-eastern portion of the peninsula is drained by the *Calmont Creek*, which flows into *Yawry Bay*; the whole area is abundantly supplied with water; many streams descend from the hills; several are concentrated in a large basin, called the *Bay of Funkia*, which is considered the best watering place along the entire line of coast. A new town (*Kosoo*) is now forming here. The *Rokelle River*, which flows into the Sierra Leone estuary, has its navigation intercepted at *Roon*, fifty or sixty miles from Freetown; its source is stated to be within thirty miles of *Fallaba*, at a distance of 200 miles from Freetown. The *Kates River*, which flows into the Atlantic to the southward of the peninsula, is navigable for boats upwards of seventy miles.

*Free Town*, the capital, is built on the southern margin of the Sierra Leone estuary, about five miles from the Cape, which marks the entrance. The town is regularly laid out upon a gentle acclivity which rises from the water's edge towards a semicircular sweep of wooded mountains, with an elevation of 1,200 to 1,500 feet, running in an east-south-east and west-north-west direction, and distant from the haven from a mile to a mile-and-a-half. Behind the centre of the town is the fort; then a large military hospital; and in the rear, about 200 feet above the town, a range of barracks, built in a superior manner, both as to style and convenience. The view of the sylvan amphitheatre, with *Free Town* stretching from the base of *Tower Hill*, towards the anchorage, varied by numerous buildings, cultivated spots, and rugged undulations, is very striking.

The principal streets are fifty to sixty feet wide, have regular convex carriage and foot-ways, with broad channels at either side for water-courses. The central thoroughfares contain the principal

government and private houses. The latter generally consist of two stories, erected on stone or iron pillars, of six to nine feet in height, and are built of a red claystone, which abounds in the vicinity. The rooms are large, lofty, and mostly contain fire-places for the comfort of their inhabitants during the chilly damps of the rainy season, while the intense heat of the sun is warded off by verandahs, the lower part closely boarded, the upper having strong jalousie blinds. The kitchens and other domestic offices are detached from the dwelling-house. Many such abodes belong to the coloured citizens, some of whom have been liberated from the slave-ships, the first object of desire among them all being the possession of a large stone house, as an incontestable mark of a respectable social position. The foundation is not unfrequently laid when the owner is quite unable to proceed further, and progress is made from time to time as his pecuniary means will admit. The second class of tenements are termed frame-houses, and are built of wood, either on stone pillars, or on a wall of some feet in height, which enables the proprietor to convert the basement into a store or warehouse. These, like the first class, are protected by verandahs, and stand in a yard or garden, of greater or less size, so as to afford a free circulation of air. In the suburbs the habitations are chiefly composed of stakes, wattles, and clay, and consist of two apartments, divided by strong coarse matting. There are convenient landing-wharves, and four good roads from the town, all available for carriages except the one that leads to the mountains. Dr. Madden, who was sent out by government as commissioner to report on the state of our settlements in Western Africa, in 1841, says—"I was forcibly struck with the largeness of the scale on which the public buildings were constructed; the wideness of the streets, and the regularity of their lines; the number of stone houses, and the excellence of the roads; the abundance in the markets, the multitudes of well-dressed negroes in these places, the variety of stalls and shops in their own quarter well supplied with British goods; the cleanliness and the comfortableness of their small abodes, the size and structure of the principal church, and the numerous chapels and schools in the town and suburbs, and, though last not least, the admirable order that seemed to prevail amongst the negro population, without any apparent exercise of magisterial rigour or severity of political restraint to repress or to control the people."

The number of stone houses of the first class belonging to the natives, in St. George's parish (*Free Town*), in 1850, was 350; of frame, 2,184; of wattle, 1,873. The number throughout the colony of these three denominations was 436, 2,156, and 9,703. Many of the coloured citizens are wealthy, and employ considerable capital in trade. They vie with the white inhabitants in their houses, dress, and expenditure, and contribute liberally to the support of religious ordinances and education.

The colony is divided into five districts, and subdivided into parishes and villages (see Population section), *Free Town* contains the few European residents; the Nova Scotians (as the negroes who arrived from thence are termed); Maroons; discharged soldiers from the West India regiments; and Kroomen, (a superior class of labourers who come from the neighbourhood of the *Grain Coast* for hire.) The country population consists chiefly of liberated Africans.

The villages facing the sea are the most healthy,

owing, it is supposed, to being screened by the mountains from the malaria, which is blown to the peninsula from the adjacent low Bullom shore. The mountain villages are next in point of salubrity; those in the river district are the most unhealthy, as they are contiguous to mud and mangrove, and unrefreshed by sea breezes.

There is a lighthouse on Cape Sierra Leone, which is distant about five miles from Free Town; it is a round tower, fifty-three feet in height, with a diameter of nineteen feet at the base, and fourteen feet at the summit. The light is fixed.

THE BANANA ISLANDS, a dependency of the colony, in 8° 30' N., separated from Cape Shilling by a narrow strait, are about twenty-seven miles distant from Free Town. They are two in number, but the larger being nearly intersected by the sea, they have the appearance of forming three islands. They are supposed to have been thrown up by submarine volcanic action. *Great Island*, the nearest to the main land, is about three and three quarters of a mile long, by one mile broad. It lies nearly east and west; the eastern part, called *Dublin*, which faces the main, consists of an extremely gradual ascent of unbroken table-land, but little varying in its breadth, to an extent of about two miles; a hill or mount (*Leren*) then occurs, with a height ranging from 500 to 750 feet above the sea. The western extremity of the island is less elevated than the eastern portion. The greater part is under cultivation. The soil on the table-land consists of a deep, rich, dark loam, with occasional patches of red clay. The western island is smaller and less elevated; its characteristics are the same. A deep channel, about 200 yards, separates the two Bananas, which contain at least one good harbour; both are said to be salubrious.\*

GEOLOGY AND SOIL.—The soil in the vicinity of Sierra Leone, consists chiefly of a slight stratum of brown gravel on a semivitrified rock of the same colour, containing a large portion of the oxide of iron. This is what is called the *brown iron stone*; the *red iron stone* is also found in extensive strata, but the *brown* appears to prevail. Both these varieties of hæmatites are cellular throughout their entire substance, strongly indicating volcanic origin; they are intersected with yellow streaks, and kidney-shaped segments. Magnetic iron ore, in small detached masses, is observable on the mountains, some of which are chiefly composed of granite, and large granitic blocks stud the surface of the plains. No limestone has hitherto been discovered in the colony, but fortunately there is an abundance of fossil shells. Altogether the soil is calculated to dishearten the inexperienced African agriculturist; and it is surprising how he has been enabled to rear his various crops.

Governor Norman Mac Donnell thinks that from the peculiar geological conformation of the country, minerals probably exist in the mountain ranges.

CLIMATE AND DISEASE.—The thermometrical range is very slight, the diurnal variation rarely exceeds 10°; the average height of the mercury throughout the year is about 82° Fahrenheit. The quantity of rain is excessive. From July to December, inclusive, it has amounted to 144 inches; on two days in August (22nd and 23rd) more has fallen than the annual average in England. The countries which may be compared with Sierra Leone in

excessive humidity are—Maranhao, in Brazil, yearly, 280 inches; Cayenne, in February alone, 160 inches; Arracan, in two months (July and August), 103 inches; coast of Malabar, 169 inches. The wet season extends from May to November; for a large part of this period the hills are wrapped in dense fogs, and the rain falls in torrents; it is ushered in by violent tornadoes from the eastward, accompanied by vivid lightning and awful thunder. The dew point ranges from 69° to 72° in June, July, August, and September. The sky is then extensively overcast by clouds; thus, dividing the visible horizon into 100 parts, the proportion obscured in four months of 1848, was, June, 78; July, 84; August, 86; September, 86. The Harmattan, a north-east wind of extreme siccidity, generally blows in December, January, and February. The air is then impregnated with an almost impalpable sand, which is exceedingly irritating to the nostrils, eyes, ears, and all susceptible parts with which it comes in contact. It causes coughs and fatal pulmonary complaints to the natives. There is a regular daily succession of sea and land breezes; the former, in the morning, from the west-north-west, is always cool and pleasant; the latter, setting in at evening from east and south-east, is generally heated and laden with humid exhalations from the low and swampy ground over which it passes. Such a climate, as might be expected, has proved very fatal to European constitutions. From February, 1825, to 1832, four governors, General Turner, Sir Neil Campbell, Colonel Denham (the distinguished traveller), and Colonel Lumley, sank under it; and its influences were equally injurious to the white troops, notwithstanding the care evinced in placing them in good barracks on a conical hill, 400 feet above the sea. During eighteen years, ending in 1836, it has been ascertained by Colonel Tulloch, that nearly half the force perished annually; indeed, in 1825 and in 1836, three-fourths died. Many European seamen employed in the timber ships, while loading in the Sierra Leone estuary, are suddenly attacked with illness, from which few recover. The most fatal disease is remittent fever, the proportions of deaths to admissions into the hospital being as one to two. Dysentery and inflammation of the liver, acute and chronic, are prevalent. The mortality among the black troops is in a far smaller proportion; during eighteen years, ending in 1836, it was about thirty-two per thousand. Eruptive fever, and diseases of the lungs, stomach, and bowels, were the principal maladies. The low Bullom shore, a vast swamp which it is said to be impossible to drain, is the focus of the malaria which scourges the inhabitants of the peninsula. Like other tropical countries, Sierra Leone enjoys periods of salubrity, during which it is exempt from any peculiar malady; but sickness reappears without warning, and desolates the land, frequently at intervals of three or five years. It is considered that a permanent improvement has recently taken place in the climate; if so, it is probably owing to the increase of cultivation, to improved dwellings and drainage, while the prevalence of temperate habits must necessarily have greatly diminished the dangers which surrounded European life in Sierra Leone a few years ago.

THE POPULATION, at the commencement of the settlement, has been stated in a previous page (178). The resident inhabitants, in 1818, numbered 9,567; in 1820, 12,521; in 1822, 15,081; in 1833, 29,764; in 1836, 37,463. During the last three years it is thus shown under the heads of the five districts into

\* Boyle's *Medico-Historical Account of the Western Coast of Africa*, 1831, pp. 65, 7.



which the colony is divided. The western district includes the villages of Dublin and Rickets, in the Banana Islands—

| Districts.             | 1849.  | 1850.  | 1851.  |
|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| St. George's Freetown  | 18,551 | 16,679 | 18,027 |
| First Eastern District | 5,498  | 5,302  | 5,351  |
| Second Eastern „       | 8,884  | 8,878  | 7,827  |
| Western . . . . .      | 4,885  | 5,159  | 5,287  |
| Mountain . . . . .     | 8,551  | 8,451  | 8,009  |
| Total . . . . .        | 46,369 | 44,472 | 44,501 |

In 1851 there were—males, 23,794; females, 20,704. The disparity between the sexes is less than might have been expected, considering that nearly half the inhabitants have been rescued from slave ships, where men always largely predominate.

In an official report the population is thus classified—*According to Trade, or Occupation*:—Government officers (of all grades), 289; merchants and clerks, 258; petty traders, hawkers, and pedlars, 1,719; farmers, farm labourers, and market people, 17,421; grumettas, predial labourers, and house servants, 3,000; fishermen and native seamen, 1,989; mechanics, 1,801; miscellaneous—including washerwomen, sempstresses, &c., 4,614; transient traders, 594; school children, 9,819; infants, 2,997: total, 44,501. *According to Race*:—Europeans, 89; Maroons, 15; Nova Scotians, 49; liberated Africans, 6,898; native creoles, 7,565; West Indians, 90; Americans, 121; Kroomen, 560; native strangers (Timmanees, Sherbro, Foulahs, Mandingoes, &c.), 1,292: total, 16,679.

Among the liberated Africans, many have shown themselves very industrious and enterprising, and their exertions have materially tended to the advancement of the colony. Several among their number have amassed wealth, and become large importers of British manufactures, and exporters of colonial produce.

Acting-governor Pine, writing in 1849, bears high testimony “to the orderly and peaceable manner in which they conduct themselves in the colony, and to the zeal and alacrity which the more influential among them have, upon many occasions, displayed in lending support to the government when for any purpose it was required. This conduct is the more remarkable when we consider that they are composed of tribes, many of which, in their own countries, bore towards each other intense hatred and animosity; and that they have been subjected to all the moral degradation which slavery brings in its train.”

The Kroomen occupy a distinct part of Free Town, called by their name. They come to the colony from their own country on the Grain Coast, to seek employment, and are in great request as domestic servants, and likewise in other capacities. They are often confounded with the Fishmen, although, according to the Hon. Captain Denham, there is a broad line of demarcation between them; the Kroomen occupying the interior of the country more than the Fishmen, who reside entirely upon the coast, and are much more numerous. Both are, however, remarkable for voluntary emigration in search of opportunities whereby they may acquire, during the vigorous years of life, the means of buying wives, and eventually settling down in comfort in their own land. They leave home when mere boys, and generally come to Sierra Leone in the capacity of apprentices to some

of their more experienced countrymen, who are considered as headsmen or masters, and who, according to their birth and influence, have a proportionate number of youths under their charge. On board a man of war a headsmen will be employed, with generally twenty men under him, the connexion being purely voluntary. The Kroomen are distinguished by some striking superstitious observances; they resist every attempt at conversion to Christianity; to this latter painful characteristic there have been exceptions, but they are very few.

The Rev. Mr. Koelle, a member of the Church Mission to Sierra Leone, has formed the following list of the African tribes, numbers of whom he has met with among the liberated negroes, in his endeavours to collect information respecting the still uncounted number of African languages. Mr. Koelle commences with those from the centre of Africa, about Lake Tchad; thence westward to the Niger, the eastern bank of which he follows until it reaches the sea. He then traces the coast upwards to Senegambia, and thence eastward to the point where the Niger changes its course from north-east to south-east, near the country of the wild and warlike Wasulus. Re-commencing on the southern half of this vast continent, he enumerates the tribes along its eastern shore, from ten degrees south to the Cape, who are represented in the colony, and completes his labour with those from the country between the banks of the Coanza (?) and the Cameroons. The information thus afforded is doubly interesting, as showing not merely the vast number of African tribes represented in the colony, but as mapping out also, in a very clear and comprehensive manner, the enormous tract of country over which slavery and the slave-trade have extended their poisonous influence.—“1 Shoa, African Arabs, east of Bornu; 2 Bagarmi, east of Bornu; 3 Bornu or Vianuri, on the southern banks of the Lake of Tchad; 4 Tubo (Tiboo), in the Zahara, north of Bornu; 5 Mandara, south of Bornu; 6 Kandin, south of the Zahara, near Hausa; 7 Pika or Phika, south-west of Bornu; 8 Wadai, 9 Margi, near Bornu; 10 Bode, west of Bornu; 11 Gezere, south of Bode; 12 Karakerei, west of Gezere; 13 Hausa, between Bornu and the Niger; 14 Munio, or Manga, north-east of Hausa; 15 Gube, north-west of Hausa; 16 Kambali, west of Hausa; 17 Dshuku, north-west of Hausa; 18 Gbali, or Gaoi, south of Hausa; 19 Eregba, called Kurorofa by the Hausas, Assa by the Nufes and Ibos, and Koana by the Kanuri, south of Hausa; 20 Nufe, on the eastern banks of the Niger, about Rabba; 21 Eg-bira, by the Nufes called Egura; 22 Idshumu, or Ekiri, eastern banks of the Niger; 23 Basa, eastern banks of the Niger, and will be distinguished from the Basa, near Liberia; 24 Igala, or Gala, eastern banks of the Niger, and will be distinguished from the Gallas, in the east; 25 Agbale, eastern banks of the Niger; 26 Kupa, eastern banks of the Niger, near Egga; 27 Wefa, 28 Ibo, eastern bank of the Niger; 29 Atam, east of Ibo; 30 Kalaba, 31 Benin, 32 Bayong, 33 Okuloba (Bony), near Ibo; 34 Bine, between the Old and New Calabar; 35 Yoruba, 36 Egba, closely allied; on the west of the Niger; 37 Adsha, called Popo by foreigners; 38 Dahome, 39 Ilwida, 40 Mahhi, who speak three different dialects of the same language; 41 Gurma, 42 Kutakori, 43 Barba, 44 Dshelanga, north of Dahomey; 45 Ashanti, 46 Fanti, near Cape Coast; 47 Grep, 48 Kru, closely allied; about Cape Palmas; 49 Basa, south of Monrovia; 50 Mano, 51 Gbarea, or Gbase,

east of Basa; 52 Dawoin, north of Monrovia; 53 Vei, from Cape Mount to the Gallinas; 54 Gura, or Gola, 55 Gbandi, 56 Buse, 57 Mani, 58 Toma, 59 Bala, 60 Bunde, 61 Mande, called also Koso and Nonguba, 62 Gise, or Kise, east and north-east of Vei; 63 Kiri-rim, by foreigners Kittim, north of Vei, on the coast; 64 Bulom, north of Kiri-rim and south of Sherbro; 65 Sherbro, between Bulom and Sierra Leone; 66 Timne, 67 Londoro, by foreigners Loko, 68 Limba, 69 Susu, north-east of Sierra Leone; 70 Baga, 71 Bidshugo, 72 Mandshako, 73 Bulanda, or Balanta, on the coast between Sierra Leone and Senegambia; 74 Nalu, 75 Padshar, 76 Pepel, 77 Buramu, 78 Biafada, by foreigners Dshola, 79 Fulup, on the coast, between Sierra Leone and Senegambia; 80 Wolof, 81 Fula, 82 Mandingo, in and near Senegambia; 83 Bambara, on the upper course of the Niger;

84 Wasulu, south-east of Timbuctu. SOUTH AFRICA—85 Masambik (Mozambique), 86 Sofala, 87 Nyam-ban, 88 Marawi, 89 Krinan, on the eastern coast, between about lat. 10° and the Cape Colony; 90 Bengara (Benguela), 91 Angola, on the south-west coast; 92 Kongo, 93 Muse Kongo, 94 Mantiaf, 95 Kimbala, empire of Kongo; 96 Motaka, 97 Mupama, east of Kongo, in the interior; 98 Orungu, about Cape Lopez; 99 Diala, on the coast, about 2° north; 100 Tsuwu, by foreigners sometimes Bumbé, on the Cameroons River. Although the tribes, Nos. 99 and 100, are a little to the north of the equator, their languages show that, in an ethnological point of view, they are to be considered as South African.”—(Parl. Papers, 1851; pp. 186-7.)

The distribution of the population in 1851 is shown in the following table:—

| Districts.                       | Parishes.          | Coloured Population. |         | Total. | Area, in Acres. |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------|--------|-----------------|
|                                  |                    | Males.               | Female. |        |                 |
| Free Town . . . . .              | St. George . .     | 9,355                | 8,574   | 17,929 | —               |
| <i>First Eastern District:—</i>  |                    |                      |         |        |                 |
| Kissy . . . . .                  | St. Patrick . .    | 1,385                | 1,792   | 3,177  | 31,000          |
| Wellington . . . . .             | St. Arthur . {     | 1,072                | 1,009   | 2,081  | 2,600           |
| New Lands . . . . .              |                    | 99                   | 101     | 200    |                 |
| Allen's Town . . . . .           |                    | 267                  | 222     | 489    |                 |
| <i>Second Eastern District:—</i> |                    |                      |         |        |                 |
| Hastings . . . . .               | St. Thomas . {     | 1,074                | 885     | 1,959  | 9,500           |
| Stanley . . . . .                |                    | 134                  | 105     | 239    |                 |
| Victoria . . . . .               |                    | 72                   | 49      | 121    |                 |
| Rokelle . . . . .                |                    | 139                  | 97      | 236    |                 |
| Hastings' Road . . . . .         | St. Michael . {    | 91                   | 67      | 159    | 5,100           |
| Waterloo . . . . .               |                    | 1,923                | 1,612   | 3,535  |                 |
| Campbell Town . . . . .          |                    | 448                  | 357     | 805    |                 |
| Benguera . . . . .               |                    | 293                  | 230     | 523    |                 |
| Macdonald . . . . .              |                    | 135                  | 110     | 245    |                 |
| <i>Western District:—</i>        |                    |                      |         |        |                 |
| York . . . . .                   | St. Henry . {      | 1,042                | 908     | 1,950  | 5,500           |
| Sussex . . . . .                 |                    | 880                  | 720     | 1,600  |                 |
| Kent . . . . .                   | St. Edward . {     | 458                  | 348     | 806    | 6,200           |
| Russell . . . . .                |                    | 124                  | 120     | 244    |                 |
| Dublin . . . . .                 | St. Luke . . {     | 256                  | 245     | 501    | —               |
| Rickets . . . . .                |                    | 99                   | 79      | 178    |                 |
| <i>Mountain District:—</i>       |                    |                      |         |        |                 |
| Leicester . . . . .              | St. Andrew . {     | 101                  | 84      | 185    | 2,600           |
| Gloucester . . . . .             |                    | 516                  | 571     | 1,087  |                 |
| Regent . . . . .                 | St. Charles . .    | 746                  | 666     | 1,412  | 2,400           |
| Bathurst . . . . .               | St. Peter and Paul | 333                  | 275     | 608    | 1,000           |
| Charlotte . . . . .              | St. John . . . .   | 316                  | 344     | 660    | 4,000           |
| Wilberforce . . . . .            | St. Paul . . . {   | 101                  | 591     | 692    | 6,700           |
| Congo Town . . . . .             |                    | 185                  | 149     | 334    |                 |
| Murray Town . . . . .            |                    | 355                  | 310     | 665    |                 |
| Aberdeen . . . . .               |                    | 379                  | 329     | 708    |                 |
| Lumley . . . . .                 |                    | 321                  | 234     | 555    |                 |
| Goderich . . . . .               |                    | 364                  | 263     | 627    |                 |
| Adonkia . . . . .                |                    | 40                   | 27      | 67     |                 |
| Total . . . . .                  |                    | 23,703               | 20,673  | 44,376 | —               |

Note.—White inhabitants, 94 males and 31 females; births for the year, 1,180; deaths, 472; marriages, 320; employed in agriculture, 17,261; in trade, 14,064; infants and school-children, 12,816.

A considerable number of the liberated Africans have emigrated from Sierra Leone to our West India colonies. Between April, 1841, and 31st December, 1850, 14,113 persons proceeded thither. Since the establishment of the settlement in 1787, about 85,000, persons of both sexes have been landed there, yet the resident inhabitants do not now exceed

45,000; it is therefore manifest that there must have been excessive mortality, or a very large migration by sea and by land from the colony. The latter is most probable, although many of the liberated slaves die soon after they were disembarked, owing to the cruel treatment endured on board ship.

GOVERNMENT.—A governor, aided by an execu-



tive and a legislative council of seven or more members. The latter comprises the chief-justice, colonial-secretary, queen's advocate, and one or two merchants. The council sits with closed doors, and its members are sworn to secrecy. As the coloured people now present an educated and proprietary class, who pay taxes to the amount of about £20,000 per annum, it would be well to grant a representative assembly to the colony, in order that the negro population might be initiated into habits of civilized self-government, and thus set an example to the surrounding kingdoms. There are civil and criminal courts, according to the provisions of the charter of justice of 1821; and courts of chancery, vice-admiralty, ecclesiastical or ordinary, and quarter-sessions, and also one for the recovery of small debts, from forty shillings to ten pounds.

**MILITARY DEFENCE.**—There are no white troops now in Western Africa; the head quarters for the coast is at the Gambia, and the number of men in the command in 1851 was 557 rank and file, and a due proportion of commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the first, second, and third West India regiments, which are recruited on the western coast of Africa from different nations of the negro race, some of the liberated slaves enlisting in the service. There were in Tower Hill barracks (Sierra Leone) in 1851, commissioned officers, 11; non-commissioned ditto, 10; drummers, 4; rank and file, 214. The negroes, officered by Europeans, make good soldiers, are clean, sober, orderly, and, on several occasions, have proved steady under fire. The Sierra Leone militia comprises 250 men-at-arms.

**RELIGION.**—The number of persons comprised under different denominations is as follows:—Episcopalians, 13,863; Presbyterians, 5; Wesleyan Methodists, 13,946; African Methodists (seceders from the Wesleyan connexion), 5,134; Baptists, 462; Lady Huntingdon's connexion, 2,849; Roman Catholics, 46; Jews, 3; Mahomedans, 2,001; Pagans, 6,192. The efforts of the Church, Wesleyan, and Baptist missions for the whole coast, are shown in a subsequent page. The religious services of the various churches and chapels are well attended. Sierra Leone has recently been made a diocese of the Church of England, and Dr. Vidal, an eloquent divine, consecrated to the see, with jurisdiction over the Episcopalians in Western Africa.

The only government church in the colony is that of St. George, at Freetown, where the colonial chaplain officiates. Some portion of the liturgy is chanted in a very creditable manner by the (coloured) school children. The *Church Missionary Society* has nine clergymen, and churches in almost every important village in the settlement. The structures are of stone, and equal to the ordinary run of country churches in England. Acting-governor Pine (the present Lieut.-Governor of Natal) in his official report to Earl Grey, 27th October, 1848, says—"The clergymen belonging to this society are as a whole a well-educated body of men, and well adapted to their peculiar vocation. Some of them are possessed of talents and learning which would command respect even in the church at home. The efforts of the Church Missionary Society have been, upon the whole, very successful, and the colony is under deep obligations to it for its exertions in the cause of religion and education. The Wesleyan Mission has four ministers in the colony besides several native lay preachers. They possess fifteen chapels, seven in Freetown, the others in various villages about the

colony. The members sent from England are generally zealous and excellent men, and have undoubtedly done a vast deal of good. There are at least thirty chapels belonging to the other sects of Christians. Their ministers are persons of colour, engaged in some secular occupations; two of the most esteemed of these are pilots. I feel great pleasure in stating that the clergymen and ministers of these several denominations generally manifest towards each other the most friendly and Christianlike feelings." The same authority then estimated the number of Mahomedans in the colony at 2,000, a large number of whom were Mandingoes, Soussoos, and other people from the adjacent country. Many of them were liberated Africans, principally of the Akoo tribe, who had been converted in their own country by Mandingo or Foulah priests. The Mahomedans generally reside together in the suburbs of the town, and except in the way of trade, hold little intercourse with their fellow-citizens. I noticed a similar segregation in various Asiatic towns. Mr. Pine estimated the number of Pagans in the colony in 1847, at twelve to fifteen thousand. A large number of these had but recently arrived, bringing with them the superstitions of their own lands. The intercourse of such immigrants with the resident population checks the progress of missionary labour by reviving in the minds of partial converts to Christianity the recollection, and with it the love, of that form of superstition which, having been instilled into them during childhood, is naturally very difficult to eradicate. A native of the Gold Coast (Mr. Quaqua), who was partially educated in England, and for nearly fifty years government chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, believed in "*Petishes*," or in other words, in evil or good spirits, generally dwelling in corporeal forms, and, it is said, that even amidst a considerable number of the professing Christians at Sierra Leone, as well as among nearly the whole of the Pagans and Mahomedans, a belief in the powers of witchcraft and magic, and in the efficacy of charms and philtres, is still prevalent. There are numerous sects of idolaters. "Among them," says the acting-governor in the despatch before quoted, "the worshippers of thunder and lightning are remarkable. They adore these phenomena as direct emanations of Deity, and, during the storms which at certain seasons disturb the tropical night, the stillness which prevails in the intervals between the peals of thunder is broken by the wild chants with which these mistaken people celebrate the honours of their god. The followers of this superstition are principally Akoos, a portion of which tribe are addicted to it in their own country; though the majority of them in the colony have been converted to Christianity, not a few persons in the community, and some of them professing Christianity, believe that these thunder worshippers, and indeed the Akoos generally, hold some mysterious communion with the lightning, by which they are enabled to direct its course against their enemies; and, upon a recent occasion, when the house of a Maroon was struck by the fluid, and the man himself killed on the spot, I heard several persons attributing the disaster to "those bad Akoo men." Some also of the Pagan inhabitants worship serpents and other reptiles, whom they feed with the greatest care. There are, moreover, some who openly worship the Devil. They convince themselves of the necessity of this practice by the same wild arguments which have satisfied savages following a similar persuasion in other parts of the world. Although they believe in

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the existence of a God, the author of all good, they also conceive that he is not omnipotent, but that his authority is disputed and controlled by the spirit of evil. Persuaded that God, prompted by the beneficence of his nature, will bestow every blessing in his power without solicitation, their only anxiety is to appease, by prayer and sacrifices, the wrath of the enemy of mankind.\*

EDUCATION.—There are fifty-eight schools, attended by 6,795 scholars of both sexes. Most of these establishments are under the zealous and efficient care of the Church, Wesleyan, and Baptist missionary societies. The *Fourah Bay* institution, under the Rev. Edward Jones, of the Church Missionary Society, affords the highest class of instruction, including Hebrew. Some of the pupils are sent to England to be perfected in their education, with a view to their ordination as ministers of religion. The *Freetown* grammar-school is ably superintended by the Rev. Mr. Peyton, who has resided fourteen years in the colony. The boys in the *higher class* are taught Algebra, Euclid, English, Greek, Latin, geography, music, lineal drawing, mensuration, singing, and exercised in writing themes. A traveller, who visited the colony at the end of 1851, says—"A class of black boys, under a black usher, worked some problems in algebra as readily as though they had been of the pure Caucasian breed." Mr. Peyton considers them "quite as intelligent as English boys of the same class;" and his opinion is amply confirmed by their progress in difficult, not to say superfluous branches of knowledge. The school is nearly self-supporting, the income from pupils being about £270 per annum.

CRIME.—The following return shows the number of convictions in fifteen years:—

| Year. | Murder. | Other Felonies. | Misdemeanor. |
|-------|---------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1837  | 3       | 40              | 5            |
| 1838  | 1       | 58              | 4            |
| 1839  | —       | 47              | 8            |
| 1840  | 3       | 42              | 10           |
| 1841  | —       | 77              | 8            |
| 1842  | —       | 65              | —            |
| 1843  | —       | 85              | 7            |
| 1844  | —       | 73              | 3            |
| 1845  | 2       | 51              | 2            |
| 1846  | 2       | 60              | 1            |
| 1847  | —       | 99              | 18           |
| 1848  | 1       | 88              | 3            |
| 1849  | 1       | 61              | 1            |
| 1850  | —       | 118             | 1            |
| 1852  | —       | 72              | 5            |

Considering the mixed character of the population, and the recent removal of a large part from utter barbarism, the foregoing return is a satisfactory one, especially as the class headed felonies includes the very pettiest description of offences now summarily punishable before the presiding police magistrate. Although drunkenness was formerly very prevalent, there is at present an almost total absence of that vice, which the governor attributes to the beneficial influence exercised by the missionaries over the labouring classes.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—In 1812 the customs duties collected amounted to £1,992, in 1820

\* *Report on Blue Books for 1847* laid before Parliament in 1848, p. 201.

to £6,153, in 1830 to £6,839. From 1840 to 1850 the whole local revenue has been as follows:—

| Year.                        | Gross revenue from all sources. | Portions levied by the customs. | Obtained from other local sources. |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1840                         | £17,332                         | £12,609                         | £4,722                             |
| 1841                         | 11,137                          | 9,071                           | 2,065                              |
| 1842                         | 9,779                           | 7,584                           | 2,195                              |
| 1843                         | 12,003                          | 10,226                          | 2,376                              |
| 1844                         | 16,842                          | 11,032                          | 5,809                              |
| 1845                         | 20,953                          | 16,119                          | 4,833                              |
| 1846                         | 20,695                          | 11,749                          | 8,945                              |
| 1847                         | 24,180                          | 16,371                          | 7,808                              |
| 1848                         | 21,910                          | 13,816                          | 8,094                              |
| 1849                         | 20,399                          | 12,840                          | 7,559                              |
| 1850                         | 17,836                          | 12,974                          | 4,861                              |
| Gross Total for eleven years | 193,671                         | 134,397                         | 59,273                             |
| Average annual revenue . .   | 17,606                          | 12,217                          | 5,388                              |
| 1851                         | 19,830                          | 16,217                          | 3,613                              |

In addition to the local revenue, the parliamentary grant of 1851 was £4,465; the expense of the liberated African department, paid from the British exchequer, £3,545. The commissariat disbursements for the same year were as follows:—Army and medical departments, £16,724; navy, £23,610; ordnance, £3,994; barracks, £389 = £44,717. Gross total, £52,727. The total civil expenses amount to £28,002, of which, as above shown, nearly £20,000 is derived from colonial resources.

MONIES, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.—English.—There are no public banks and no paper money in circulation. Three-penny and three-halfpenny pieces have been sent from England. The foreign coins in circulation have a fixed value assigned them by royal proclamation, viz., doubloon, 64s.; dollar, 4s. 2d.; twenty franc-piece, 15s. 10d.; five franc-piece, 3s. 10½d.

COMMERCE.—The trade of the colony has fluctuated; its value at different intervals is set forth in the annexed table—

| Year. | Imports. | Exports. | Tonnage Inwards. |
|-------|----------|----------|------------------|
| 1825  | £77,974  | £58,965  | 23,479           |
| 1830  | 87,251   | 71,076   | 26,343           |
| 1835  | 69,301   | 66,903   | 17,453           |
| 1840  | 73,989   | 65,888   | 19,920           |
| 1845  | 114,475  | 103,384  | 23,434           |
| 1850  | 97,890   | 115,139  | 26,436           |
| 1851  | 103,477  | 80,366   | 40,416           |

It is to be feared, that until very recently many of the goods imported into Sierra Leone, and our other settlements on the coast, were, by a circuitous channel, employed in the purchase of slaves.

The gross total of imports from 1840 to 1850, inclusive, was £1,010,530, giving an average for each year of £91,867. The imports from Great Britain for this period amounted to £786,777; to West Indian colonies, £6,288; to North American colonies, £19,238; other British colonies, £56,612. To United States, £93,213; other foreign countries, £48,402. The imports from England consist principally of India goods, white and printed cottons, hardware,



spirits, ale, wine, &c. The exports for the same period of eleven years, amounted in the aggregate to £1,074,552, of which £696,193 were sent to England, £1,126 to West Indian colonies, £4,171 to North American colonies, £79,748 to other British colonies, £114,723 to the United States, and £178,591 to other foreign states. Average annual value of exports during the time aforesaid, £63,290.

The state of the trade of the settlement in 1851 is thus shown:—Imports from Great Britain, £85,563; West Indies, £3; other British colonies, £1,848; United States, £14,600; other foreign states, £1,462. Total, £103,476; shipping inwards, 40,416 tons. Exports to Great Britain, £43,068; British colonies, £12,882; United States, £13,351; other foreign states, £11,064 = £80,366. Among the items exported were—palm oil (gal.), 212,577, value, £16,838; pepper, 79,467 lbs., £1,809; ginger,

965,529 lbs., £7,833; ground nuts, 81,063 bushels, £6,491; ground cake, 29 tons, £109; ground oil (gal.) 5,080. £661; hides, dried, 417,200 lbs., £7,100; hides, salted, 850 packages, £200; ivory, 5,445, £746; copal, 18,851 lbs., £747; coffee, 4,723 lbs., £105; camwood, 247 tons, £3,094; bees' wax, 19,056 lbs., £963; bené-seed, 1,678 bushels, £458; arrow root, 45,860 lbs., £497; timber, 6,075 loads, £22,298. Cotton is now being added to the list of exports; it grows indigenously, is bought from the natives for 1½d. and sells in Manchester for 7d. per lb. The Church Missionary Society, aided by a philanthropic manufacturer at Manchester, [Mr. Clegg,] are successfully endeavouring to increase the quantity, and improve the quality of the cotton exported.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.—The crops and actual produce saved in the colony between the 31st December, 1850, and the 31st December, 1851, was—

| Produce and Live-stock.          | St. George's, Freetown. | First Eastern District. | Second Eastern District. | Mountain District. | Western District. | Total.  |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------|
| Acres in cultivation, Dec., 1851 | —                       | 6,000                   | 24,287                   | 8,906              | 2,107             | 41,300  |
| Poultry . . . . . No.            | 15,477                  | 15,600                  | 3,572                    | 7,264              | 1,983             | 43,896  |
| Horses . . . . . "               | 161                     | 4                       | 3                        | 5                  | —                 | 173     |
| Asses . . . . . "                | 6                       | 2                       | —                        | 2                  | 1                 | 11      |
| Horned cattle . . . . . "        | 196                     | 300                     | 43                       | 337                | 99                | 975     |
| Sheep . . . . . "                | 198                     | 30                      | 49                       | 212                | 41                | 550     |
| Pigs . . . . . "                 | 1,286                   | 748                     | 680                      | 2,187              | 906               | 5,807   |
| Goats . . . . . "                | 139                     | 750                     | 273                      | 383                | 113               | 1,658   |
| Cassada . . . . . Bushels        | —                       | 23,000                  | 9,889                    | 79,536             | 2,744             | 115,169 |
| Cocoa . . . . . "                | —                       | 500                     | 497                      | 4,599              | 236               | 5,832   |
| Sweet potatoes . . . . . "       | —                       | 80                      | 2                        | 149                | 40                | 271     |
| Indian corn . . . . . "          | —                       | 200                     | 944                      | 1,009              | 983               | 3,136   |
| Rice . . . . . "                 | —                       | —                       | 167                      | 4                  | 177               | 348     |
| Ginger . . . . . "               | —                       | 10,000                  | 2,383                    | 401                | 1,928             | 14,712  |
| Ground nuts . . . . . "          | —                       | 60                      | 47                       | 118                | 198               | 423     |
| Yams . . . . . Cwts.             | —                       | 500                     | 1,712                    | 1,808              | 80                | 4,100   |
| Plantain bunches . . . . . No.   | —                       | 7,000                   | 3,254                    | 8,578              | 550               | 19,382  |
| Bananas bunches . . . . . "      | —                       | 850                     | 1,713                    | 7,922              | 276               | 10,761  |
| Sugar-cane stalks . . . . . "    | —                       | 150                     | 233                      | 5,358              | 157               | 5,898   |
| Pine-apples . . . . . "          | —                       | 380                     | 89                       | 3,365              | 2,622             | 6,456   |
| Bird-pepper . . . . . Cwts.      | —                       | 500                     | —                        | 29                 | 109               | 638     |

The *Indigenous Fruits* are banana, cocoa-nut, orange, pine-apple, guava, pomegranate, hime, papau, and African plum.

*Fruits that have been introduced.*—Mango, shaddock, Avocado pear, custard apple, sour-sop, grenadilla, tamarind, Mammee-apple, water-melon, rose-apple, bread-fruit, almond, bread-nut, date, Barbadoes cherry, and grapes.

*Indigenous Esculents, &c.*—Yam, plantain, Indian corn, sweet potatoe, okro, pumpkin, cassada, and spinach.

*Esculents, &c., which have been introduced.*—French beans, cucumbers, peas, lettuce, radishes, and cabbage.

Many of the fruits that have been naturalized, such as the tamarind, mango, and sour-sop, were introduced some years ago, and are now extremely plentiful in the colony; others have been imported at a later period, and are only to be met with in the gardens of government officers and others.

The introduction of several of the choicer species is due to the intercourse which has of late years arisen between the West Indies and the colony in consequence of emigration.

The esculents enumerated have for the most part been brought from England; they all thrive well in the colony, especially French beans and cabbage, which are tolerably abundant.

FISHERIES.—About 2000 canoes are employed, and afford occupation for 1,000 to 1,500 men. The boats, seines, lines, &c., are generally the joint property of the captain and the crew, or of some individual who receives a proportion of the proceeds of the fishery. One branch of the pursuit carried on at the Isles de Loss, by liberated Africans, who proceed thither from the Colony in small joint-stock associations, appears to be a profitable speculation; about £1,000 being annually realized by the persons engaged.

Among the fish caught may be named the barracouta, crocus, cavalla, flounder, grouper, greenjar, jewfish, mullet, mackarel, rock-cod, snapper, skynose, soles, skates, shrimps, turtle, ten-pounder, white bait, crayfish, &c.

MANUFACTURES.—Boat-building is carried on to a considerable extent; those employed in the fisheries are carvel built, and admirably constructed; several small-decked vessels have been recently launched. Leather dressing is carried on to a small extent. There are eight or ten manufactories for crushing the ground nut, and preparing oil therefrom. It can be sold at 4s. to 4s. 6d. per gallon. When cold-drawn by powerful machinery, it is scarcely to be distinguished from olive oil.

WAGES AND PRICES.—Agricultural labour, 7d. to 9d. predial, labour of any other description, 9d. to 1s. Horses cost from £10 to £40; horned cattle, 30s. to

100s.; sheep, 7s. to 15s.; goats (milk), 15s. to 20s.; pigs (porkers), 10s. to 30s.; poultry, 6d. to 1s. per head.

### THE GOLD COAST SETTLEMENTS.

**HISTORY.**—The precise date is not known when the English began to trade with this portion of Western Africa, which extends from the Assinee River to Cape St. Paul, forming the intermediate territory between the *Ivory* and the *Slave* coasts, and comprising the kingdoms of Ashantee and Fantee.

The prospect of trafficking in gold, as well as in slaves, early drew the attention of European nations to this region. The Portuguese formed the first settlement at Cape Coast Castle in 1610; they were, however, soon dispossessed by the Dutch, who took great pains to strengthen the fortifications. In 1661, Admiral Holmes captured the castle; the conquest was confirmed to England by the treaty of Breda, in 1672, and has since then, despite of attacks from the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter, in 1665, and from the French in 1757, remained in the occupation of the English.

Several smaller forts were established on the coast subordinate to the chief station, and placed under the management of the different African companies and associations, which, from time to time, were formed in England—Parliament voting a sum of money annually for their support, until 1807, with a view to the encouragement of the slave trade; and since then, with the opposite desire of preventing that traffic, and promoting legitimate commerce. By the concurrent testimony of all the witnesses before the parliamentary committees of the houses of lords and commons, in 1848-9, it appears that the slave trade has now entirely ceased along this coast for a distance of 280 miles, where it was formerly most rife; and this mainly in consequence of the occupation of the Castle and the adjacent forts by an anti-slavery power.

The area of the extensive territory now under our control is not precisely known. Acting-governor Fitzpatrick, in March, 1850, stated to Earl Grey, that "with the exception of a few sea-side towns, the vast district extending from Assinee to Pram Pram, and back to Ashantee, is all under the jurisdiction of the British authorities." The population of this territory is estimated at 288,500, and is continuously and steadily increasing. This is exclusive of the considerable additions recently purchased from Denmark.\* Including these annexations, the distance from Assinee to Pram Pram, by the coast, is about 230 miles, and from the latter to Quittah about 50 miles, giving a total length of 280 miles.

The chief feature in the British history of the Gold Coast is formed by our hostilities with the Ashantees, respecting whom it is necessary to give a brief account. Considerable interest attaches to them, from their being believed to be the first African people who refused to embrace the Mahommedan religion, and were driven by its propagandists from their original inheritance, in the immediate vicinity of the Kong Mountains, to the forests of Wangara, the Mahommedan name for the part of Africa they now possess, which comprises a portion of that immense region called by Europeans, for some forgotten cause, by the name of GUINEA. The fugitives spread over the land, down to the margin of the sea,

peopling, as has been conjectured, some countries which heretofore lay desolate like the forests of Fantee and Assin, and others whose primitive inhabitants were not adequate to the defence of their towns. According to Dupuis, the Fantees and Denkerans are branches of the same family. Other writers suppose these and various smaller tribes to have formed distinct migrations, having at different times, and impelled by various motives, settled in the tract between Ashantee and the sea. Be this as it may, it appears certain that under their early sovereigns, while the Arab influence yet existed on the Niger, Joliba, or Quorra, and Ghulby rivers, the Ashantees, although firm and compact as a nation, were unsettled in their habitation, and the seat of government was removed from place to place, until it was firmly established, about the year 1700, by Osai Tutu, at *Coomassie*, or *Kumasi*, which is more than 130 miles from Cape Coast Castle in direct distance, but much further by the pathway through the forest. It is a very considerable place, surrounded by numerous thickly-peopled towns and villages. According to Beecham,† the entire population of the kingdom, with its dependencies, is estimated at upwards of 4,000,000. The martial exploits of this people have been ever their distinguishing characteristic. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century they, with their allies, were able to send into the field 60,000 warriors, armed with bows and arrows, and a very few muskets; and their courage and ferocity rendered them at error to surrounding tribes.‡ About 1720 the Dutch governor-general took part with Bosiante, king of Denker, in a quarrel between him and Osai Tutu, which had arisen in the following manner.—(Bosman's *Description of the Gold Coast*.)

Bosiante, a young prince who had obtained a high character for valour, sent some of his wives on a complimentary embassy to the king of Ashantee, who gave them a courteous welcome and many presents, and soon after despatched a number of his own wives on a similar errand to Denker. One of these was shamefully abused by Bosiante, which so incensed Osai Tutu, that, disregarding the offer of several hundred marks of gold in propitiation for the wrong, he made immediate preparations for war by raising a strong army, and purchasing large quantities of gunpowder on the coast. While he was thus engaged Bosiante died, but the Ashantees took the field, and after two dreadful battles, in which 100,000 warriors perished, Denker was subjugated, the body of its deceased ruler was disinterred, and the decaying flesh given to be devoured by serpents, while the skull and thigh-bones were preserved as trophies. The Denkerans, who had largely engaged in the slave trade, were assisted by the Dutch governor-general with two or three small cannons and a few soldiers. The cannon were captured by the Ashantees, and placed in triumph at the top of one of the streets in Coomassie, where they still remain. Osai Tutu perished soon after during some hostilities with the people of Akim, whom his brother Osai Apoko, who succeeded him in 1731, completely conquered, and obtained possession of the celebrated "Notes," given by the first English African company, which, in establishing forts and factories upon the Gold Coast, did not obtain any territory by purchase, but merely hired sufficient for its immediate uses, giving promissory notes to the native chiefs for the regular payment of the sti-

\* Report on B. Book for 1849, laid before Parliament in 1850, Part I., p. 93.

† Introduction to Freeman's *Ashantee Journal*.

‡ Dupuis' *Residence in Ashantee*, p. 225.



pulated rent. The other European companies held their land on the same tenure, and on the subjugation of the different small coast states of Asin, Akim, and Bouromy, by the king of Ashantee, their notes fell into his hands, and he claimed and received, by right of conquest, the rents for the Dutch fort at Elmina, and the English, Dutch, and Danish forts at Accra.—(Bowdich's *Mission to Ashantee*, p. 234.)

The irruption of the Ashantees into the Fantee country first brought them into collision with the British, in 1807. The invasion originated in a dispute between two of the principal chiefs of Asin, which, since the time of Osai Apoko, had remained a dependency of Ashantee, and was situated immediately contiguous to Fantee on the north. The grave of a Caboecer or noble, a subject of Amu, who ruled over the eastern half of Asin, had been plundered by a near relation of Apoutai, joint ruler with Chibbu of the other half of that country, and the offender having made his escape, Amu applied to Chibbu for redress, which being refused, he appealed to the court of Coomassie. Osai Tutu Quamina, the reigning monarch, decreed that Apoutai should make compensation to the relatives of the deceased for the stolen property. This the chief refused to do, and the result was that both he and Chibbu broke into open revolt, murdered the royal messengers sent to them on an embassy of peace, and suspended their mutilated bodies upon trees on the borders of the province. Forbearance on the part of the king was at an end; he advanced into Asin at the head of a powerful army, and defeated the rebel chiefs, who took refuge in the Fantee country. The Fantees upheld them, and barbarously massacred the messengers sent to demand their surrender. The united forces of Asin and Fantee were defeated by Osai Tutu Quamina, who appears to have been desirous even then of coming to terms, but the opposing powers behaved very treacherously towards him (*vide* Meredith's *Account of the Gold Coast of Africa*), and retreated towards the south, persuading themselves that he would not dare to prosecute the campaign among the large towns, and especially those placed under the guns of the British and Dutch forts: the sequel proved them woefully mistaken. The king, excited to the highest pitch of indignant feeling, took "the great oath," that he would never sheath his sword, or return to his capital, until he had obtained the heads of Chibbu and Apoutai, and commenced a desolating march, carrying with him destruction by fire and the sword, and sparing neither age nor sex, till the advanced guard of the army reached the town of Cormantine, which was destroyed, and the Dutch fort (Armstrong) taken possession of. The near approach of the Ashantees excited uneasy apprehensions at Annamaboo (three miles distant from Cormantine), which was then the largest town upon that part of the coast, and where the chiefs had been received after the destruction of Abrah, the capital of Asin. Mr. White, the governor of the castle, vainly endeavoured to mediate between the contending parties; the king presented himself before Annamaboo, and found the inhabitants assembled to oppose him, but they soon gave way, and were pursued to the walls of the fort, from whence one or two great guns were discharged with a view to deter the advancing troops, who, incited rather than daunted by the havoc thus made in their ranks, approached the very muzzles of the cannon, and soon rendered them useless by their own well-directed fire, so that before the close of the day, the

efforts of the little garrison were exclusively confined to the defence of the gate, which the enemy attempted to force or burn. At least 8,000 of the natives perished in the contest, and Mr. White was severely wounded. After two or three days the king prepared to renew the attack upon the fort with 6,000 picked men, but in the morning of the day on which he had vowed to seat himself, "by the help of his gods," in the governor's chair, a flag of truce was lowered from the walls. A negotiation ensued, and the governor-in-chief, Colonel Torrane, went over from Cape Coast Castle to the royal camp, and concluded a treaty of peace, formally acknowledged that the whole of Fantee belonged to the king, and paid the arrears of rent then due for the ground on which Annamaboo Fort and Cape Coast Castle stood. Apoutai made his escape, but Chibbu, to our great disgrace, was delivered up, and after suffering the most agonizing tortures, in the rejoicings at Coomassie on the return of the victorious army, his head became one of the principal decorations of the death-drum of the king.—(Dupuis, p. 262.)

In the year 1811 the Dutch governor of Elmina appealed to the Ashantee monarch for protection against the Fantees, and 4,000 men were immediately sent to his aid, and 25,000 more for the defence of Accra. In 1817, Fantee was again ravaged by the Ashantees; the British, by interfering to protect their neighbours, rendered themselves obnoxious to the invaders, who sat down before Cape Coast Castle, and continued to blockade it with such determined perseverance, that the government found it necessary to advance a large sum of money which the king demanded from the Fantees, to induce him to withdraw to his own capital. These repeated incursions produced so great a feeling of alarm and insecurity, that it was judged advisable to send an embassy to the court of Ashantee, with a view to conciliate its powerful ruler, and negotiate an extension of commerce. Quamina received the British embassy very favourably, but a misunderstanding arose respecting the Fantee notes, concerning the value of which he justly suspected that he had been deceived through Governor-general Smith, who, according to his own statement, had himself been misled by the Fantees into writing other notes, which enabled them to defraud the king by reserving for themselves a portion of the rent, while they pretended to resign the whole. Mr. James, the governor of Accra, could not deny that there had been deceit somewhere, and the king became much enraged. Mr. Bowdich, a nephew of the governor's, interfered, and proposed an appeal to Cape Coast Castle. The result was that Mr. James was superseded by Mr. Bowdich, and the demands of the king were acceded to, two other notes for four ounces of gold per month being given to him; whereupon a friendly treaty was concluded, by virtue of which a British resident was stationed at Coomassie, while an Ashantee captain was placed at Cape Coast. This arrangement was thought so important in England, that H.M. ministers deemed it advisable to send a consul to Ashantee for the furtherance of trade. Mr. Dupuis, whose long residence in Barbary had contributed to qualify him for the office, was selected, and arrived in Africa at the close of the year 1818. On his arrival he found that the king of Ashantee was engaged in hostilities with one of his vassals, that the British President had retired to the Castle, and that though a considerable traffic with Ashantee had resulted from the recent nego-

tations, it was to a great extent monopolized by a few leading servants of the company, who viewed his appointment as consul with much jealousy, and appeared willing to risk even a rupture with the king for the purpose of checking the large and general trade contemplated by the British government.—(Dupuis, Introduction, p. xiii.)

Whether this were the case or not, the Cape Coast people, both European and native, behaved very unwisely. A rumour having been circulated that the King of Ashantee had been overthrown, they showed great signs of rejoicing; and when this was contradicted by the arrival of two messengers with news of his success, the natives treated them with violence and insult, for which the Castle authorities, when expressly appealed to, refused redress. Shortly after this, the Ashantee resident, who had repeatedly complained to his sovereign of the disrespect with which he was treated, died suddenly, it was suspected from poison. A crisis was evidently approaching. The king sent down a messenger, bearing a gold-hilted sword, to complain of the treatment his ambassadors had received, and the answer sent back being unsatisfactory, if not purposely insulting, he despatched one of his principal subjects, accompanied by a large retinue, with the treaty, for the purpose of discussing the article by which he (the king) had agreed not to go to war with the natives under British protection without first seeking redress at the hands of the governor-in-chief. By the mediation of Mr. Dupuis personally with the Ashantee ruler, tranquillity was restored, and a new treaty negotiated with the king, who prepared numerous presents, which he placed in the hands of some Ashantees of rank to deliver to the Prince Regent.

The local authorities refused to confirm the treaty; and Sir George Collier, the commander of the British squadron, stationed on the coast, in compliance with their wishes, declined to convey the Ashantee ambassadors to England; whereupon Mr. Dupuis proceeded thither himself to lay the true state of affairs before the home government, first sending an urgent message to the King of Ashantee, entreating him to be patient and await the result.

At this time an important change took place in the administration of affairs on the Gold Coast, the company being abolished, and its powers and possessions transferred to the Crown, by an act of parliament passed in 1821. Sir Charles McCarthy, who had for some years ably conducted the government of Sierra Leone, was appointed to the command at Cape Coast Castle, and arrived in March, 1822. He found matters in a very bad state. Prince Adoom, the Ashantee ambassador, after quietly awaiting communications from England two months longer than the time specified by Mr. Dupuis, had withdrawn with his retinue to a short distance from Cape Coast Town and placed it in a state of blockade; and the whole of the trade with Ashantee had been transferred from that place to the Dutch settlements. The policy pursued by Sir Charles McCarthy is quite indefensible. Overlooking the fact that the King of Ashantee had established the right of a conqueror over the Fantee country, and that the British had clearly acknowledged that right in the persons of Governor Torrane and Governor Smith, he determined to uphold the Fantees, who hailed him joyfully as their deliverer. The name of McCarthy rung along the coast from Cape Appollonia to the mouth of the Volta, while the King of Ashantee, stung by the sudden revolt of his hitherto acknowledged subjects,

was yet more incensed at the neglect of his authority and dignity on the part of the British in not sending to him a complimentary embassy announcing the change of government.

The explanation of Sir Charles McCarthy's conduct at this period is probably to be found in his ignorance of the actual state of affairs. The servants of the company just abolished by act of parliament, had apparently entered into a contract, not to accept office under or hold any communication with him, and Mr. Dupuis had failed to meet his earnest wishes for full information.—(*Fide* Dupuis' own statement, p. 212.) Thus he was left to explore the way as well as he could, and not understanding the difficulties in which the King of Ashantee had been placed by the unhappy disputes between the company's servants and the British consul, and consequently not seeing the importance of placing the national character before the barbarian sovereign in its true light, he seems to have at once decided that the claims of the king in vindication of his honour and in maintenance of his authority, could not be consistently conceded, and that, moreover, it was useless or inexpedient to attempt to open a friendly negotiation.

A considerable period elapsed before hostilities actually commenced. The king anticipating that the new governor would pursue a different line of policy from that of his predecessor, remained passive until its general bearing became manifest. Then he commenced his preparations for war, with the accustomed human sacrifices, and consultation of the national deities, and while these were going on, the oath-draught, it was understood, was administered to the traders coming down from other parts of the coast, enjoining them to entire secrecy as to what was taking place in Ashantee. A dead silence in consequence ensued, which the governor viewed as a sign that the king was overawed, and dared not attempt to carry his warlike threats into execution. Believing tranquillity restored, he left his own station on a visit to Sierra Leone, whence he was soon recalled by the intelligence that the Ashantees had commenced hostilities by carrying off a negro sergeant in the British service, from the great square at Anamaboo, on the plea of his having spoken disrespectfully of their king. The man was conveyed to a town, named Donqua, about eighteen miles inland from Anamaboo, and was detained there with an intention of proving (as was afterwards ascertained) how the English would act in the matter. This occurred in August, 1822. Sir Charles was quite undecided as to his course; Captain Laing requested permission to proceed on an embassy to Donqua, but was refused permission from a fear of his personal safety. At length the uncertainty was terminated by news that the sergeant had been beheaded on the 1st of February, 1823. The Ashantee monarch, through his emissaries, then forwarded various threatening messages to the Fantees and other tribes who sided with the British, sarcastically advising one to arm the fishes of the sea; intimating to another his intention of invading his country with such terrific sounds that they should awaken his father in his grave; while Sir Charles McCarthy received an assurance that his head would soon ornament the great war-drum of Ashantee.

Before proceeding to extremities, the king however made another attempt at a peaceful communication, by transmitting, through the Dutch governor at Elmina, a statement of his grievances, which, according to Captain Laing, contained much truth;



but this pacific overture proved abortive, and the war commenced in earnest.

At first, detachments only of the enemy made their appearance, over which Captain Laing gained some decided advantages; but these, so far from discouraging the Ashantee monarch, only led him to make more zealous preparations for the struggle. He called upon his chiefs and vassals for a further augmentation of the troops, and sacrificed eight or ten virgins daily to his "fetishes," or gods, to propitiate them in his favour.\* At this juncture, Sir Charles seemed disposed to attempt to stay hostilities by entering into negotiation; but fatal counsels prevailed—the power and character of the Ashantees were underrated, the golden opportunity suffered to pass, and the news arrived at the camp at Djuquah, that the forces of the enemy were rapidly advancing, and the allied natives precipitately retreating before them to the coast. The governor instantly determined to meet the enemy, and, without waiting the arrival of the troops who were with Major Chisholm at the camp at Ampensasu, he pushed forward with the small force he had with him at Djuquah, and a body of natives under their own captains. Having crossed the Prah River, he waited a few days at Assamacou, and sent his secretary, Mr. Williams, to inform the retreating natives that succour was at hand. These were, with much difficulty, induced to halt and encamp on the bank of a small river, where they were joined by the governor on January 21st, 1824, and soon after his arrival the horns and drums of the approaching enemy were heard.

Sir Charles having been led to believe that many of the Ashantees were disposed to come over to him at the first opportunity, ordered the bugles to sound, and the band of the royal African corps to play "God Save the King," to which the Ashantee chiefs responded only in warlike strains, as they marched their divisions down to the opposite bank of the river. The Ashantees are distinguished in battle by their own peculiar military airs, and on this occasion a native of Coomassie, who was in the British camp, was able, on hearing the music, to tell the name of every chief as he advanced.

The battle commenced with great spirit on both sides, and a heavy firing was kept up across the river, until the troops under Sir Charles's immediate command† had nearly exhausted their ammunition. The enemy then attempted to cross the river, but were repulsed at the point of the bayonet with great slaughter. A large body having, however, at an earlier part of the day, forded the stream higher up, for the purpose of preventing the retreat of the British party, now attacked them on the flank and in the rear, and literally cut them to pieces. The governor, who had himself received several wounds, seeing all was lost, retired to that part of the field where the vice-king of Denkera and his people were still bravely holding their ground. A field-piece was discharged among the Ashantees, but failed to arrest their progress, and the Denkerans were compelled to give way, while Sir Charles, and some of his officers,

vainly endeavoured to retreat through the woods, but were soon overtaken by a party of the enemy, by whose fire the governor had an arm broken, and was wounded in the chest. Mr. Williams fell stunned by a ball, but recovered his senses on the application of an Ashantee knife, which would have instantly terminated his existence but for the timely interference of a captain, who recognised in him a friend from whom he had formerly experienced kindness, and gave command that his life should be spared.

On looking round Mr. Williams beheld the appalling sight of the headless trunks of Governor McCarthy, Mr. Buckle, and Mr. Wetherall; and during the whole of the time he remained in the Ashantee camp, he was regularly shut up every night in the same place with the heads of his unfortunate companions, which, by some peculiar process, were kept in a state of perfect preservation. That of Sir Charles presented nearly the same appearance as it had done in life; as to his body, it is stated that his heart was eaten by the principal captains, that they might be inspired with his bravery, and his flesh having been dried was divided, together with his bones, among the chief warriors, and worn by them as charms for a similar purpose.

At the execution of any of their prisoners, Mr. Williams was placed on one side of the great death-drum, while they decapitated the unfortunate victim on the other. One of the prisoners, Captain Raydon, of the Cape Coast militia, having received five wounds before his capture, was specially sacrificed to the fetish, five being in such cases the sacred number.

Captain Ricketts and Mr. De Graft, the linguist or interpreter to government, then acting as lieutenant of militia, succeeded in escaping from the field of battle, and meeting Major Chisholm, who had set out from Ampensasu to reinforce the governor, informed him of his defeat, whereupon the Major retired to Cape Coast Castle, and was joined there by Captain Laing, who had meanwhile been engaged in another direction. Great exertions were made to strengthen the castle, and collect a force to meet the enemy; but although 30,000 natives had at first taken arms in the common cause, so much dismay had been produced among them by the recent disasters, that but few appeared willing again to take the field.

The Ashantees on their part, instead of following up their complete victory by an attack upon Cape Coast, though well prepared to do so, again made overtures of peace through the Dutch governor Last, of Elmina, offering to withdraw immediately, provided Kojuh Chibbu, the vice-king of Denkera, and the chiefs of Tueful and Wassaw, who had revolted from their sovereign, were delivered up. They positively denied that the king had ordered the execution of the serjeant at Donqua, declaring that the deed was perpetrated by Fantees, then acting in unison with them. In token of their sincere desire for peace, Mr. Williams was given into the hands of the Dutch governor, uninjured in life or limb, but in a state of nudity, with his hands tied behind him.

This attempt at peace only furnished a new incentive to war. Kujoh Chibbu, naturally fearing that he, like Asin Chibbu, might be delivered up as a peace-offering, although assured that his fears were groundless, resolved upon crossing the Prah, and attacking the enemy, which movement, being supported by the British, had the direct effect of

\* *Vide Bell's Geography*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 504. The term "fetish" is applied not only to the national deities, but also to the act of worship perin their honour, and appears to have much the same signification as the "Obi" of the West Indies.

† The European soldiers could have been but few in number, as the whole force then stationed on the Gold Coast amounted only to about 120.

arousing the Ashantees again into action, and inducing them to fight their way down into the neighbourhood of the castle.

At this juncture a new turn was given to affairs by the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Sutherland with a body of troops; the marines were landed from the squadron to garrison the castle, and the whole of the military proceeded to attack the enemy before the arrival of the king, who, it was understood, was on his way to join them. A hard-fought contest took place, which was not followed by any decisive result; and on the following day Osai Ockoto (the brother and successor of Osai Tutu Quamina, who had died a natural death at Coomassie about the period of the outbreak of war) sent a message of defiance to the castle, and advanced so near it as to be distinctly seen on the adjacent heights. The British were opportunely strengthened by the arrival of a ship of war, with men and officers of the Royal African corps. Another general engagement took place, and was terminated only by the darkness of night. It was expected that the action would be renewed the following day; but the dreadful ravages of small pox and dysentery, and the want of provisions, had produced such misery among his army, that the king deemed it prudent to withdraw.

The same causes were at the same time producing yet more fearful effects in Cape Coast Town, and in the castle, within whose walls many thousands of native women and children were cooped up to preserve them from the fury of the enemy. The scene was most distressing, and, but for the timely succour afforded by a partial supply of provisions from Sierra Leone, and some cargoes of rice sent by England, famine must have swept off what disease had spared; for the invaders had reduced the surrounding country to a perfect wilderness.

About two years after this period, in the month of September, 1826, another, and, as it proved, decisive, battle was fought near the village of Dodowah, twenty-four miles north-east of British Accra, between 10,000 Ashantees, and 11,000 British Fantees and other natives. The Ashantees were the assailants, and fought with desperate bravery. About the middle of the day, they were driving back the centre of the allied army; when Colonel Purdon brought up the reserve, and met them with discharges of rockets and grape-shot. The rockets, in a great measure, decided the contest. The Ashantees, having never before witnessed the effect of these formidable engines of destruction, were thrown into confusion; and, although they continued the battle through the day, they were not able to rally again. Many of their principal chiefs were killed; and the whole of their camp and baggage fell into the hands of the allies. Among the trophies was a human head, enveloped in a silk handkerchief, and a paper covered with Arabic characters; and over the whole was thrown a tiger skin, the emblem of royalty. On the supposition it had belonged to the unfortunate Sir Charles McCarthy, it was afterwards sent to England by Colonel Purdon; but it was really the head of Osai Tutu Quamina, which the new king carried about with him as a charm. It is said, that, on the morning of the battle, he offered to it a libation of rum, and invoked it to cause all the heads of the whites to come and lie near it; and it is further stated, that, during the day, when intelligence was brought to him of the death of any of his principal officers, he immediately,

in the heat of the battle, offered human sacrifices to their shades.

After this action, the conquerors lay on their arms all night; the Ashantee king having been seen at the close of the day walking in front, as though meditating some desperate enterprise; but, instead of renewing the attack, he withdrew the remainder of his army, and returned to Coomassie. The native allies of the British manifested no disposition to pursue their powerful foe, but retired to Accra with the booty which they had obtained.

In a few days, the new governor, Sir Neil Campbell, who had succeeded General Turner, landed at Cape Coast Castle; and one of his first acts was to send for Kujoh Chibbu, who had greatly distinguished himself in the battle, and the other principal native chiefs, to thank them for their brave and successful exertions, and to propose to them that peace should be made with the Ashantees. Independently of higher considerations, this was the truest policy which he could possibly adopt; for it was obvious, that native assistance could not be depended upon for the continuance of the war. Major Ricketts confidently asserts, that had the Ashantees delayed for a few weeks their attack upon the allied forces, their overthrow could not have taken place; for the Fantee union would have melted away, and the Ashantees would have been left in undisputed possession of the country.

The chiefs strenuously objected to proposals of peace being made to the King of Ashantee, although the governor assured them that no treaty would be concluded, except on the condition that their safety and interests were secured. At length, he told them that the orders which he had received from the king of England to put an end to the war, were peremptory; and, dismissing them, made arrangements to send messengers immediately to Coomassie with a view to improve the recent victory by negotiating an honourable and lasting peace; but this conciliatory plan was defeated by the continued opposition of the chiefs. At length, however, by a combination of favourable circumstances, Major Ricketts succeeded in opening a negotiation; when the terms proposed to the king, with the approbation of Kujoh Chibbu and the other native leaders, were, that he should lodge four thousand ounces of gold in the castle at Cape Coast, to be appropriated in purchasing ammunition and arms for the use of the British allies, in case the Ashantees should again commence hostilities; and that two of the royal family of Ashantee, whose names were mentioned, should be sent to Cape Coast as hostages.

To these terms the king of Ashantee, although manifesting a great desire to be at peace with the British, was evidently unwilling to accede, and the negotiation languished for years; until, at length, in the month of April, 1831, the king sent down to Cape Coast Castle one of his own sons, named Quantamissah, and Anisah, son of the late king, as hostages, with six hundred ounces of gold to be lodged there as a security for his future good conduct; and thus virtually abandoned the claim which, on the ground of admitted conquest, he had previously urged against the natives upon the coast.—(Dr. Beecham's *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, pp. 68—80.)

At the end of six years the gold was returned; and the present king, Quako Duah, who had in the mean time succeeded his brother, Osai Ockoto, consented that his nephews, who had been given up as hostages, should be sent to England for education. This was



done; they were placed under the care of the Rev. Thomas Pyne, a clergyman of the Established Church, and in 1841 were restored to their native land in charge of the expedition dispatched to the Niger in that year. Both are described as promising young men; but Ansa has especially devoted himself to carrying on the work of Christian civilization among his countrymen, ably commenced by the Wesleys in 1834.

It is a pleasing sequel to this, for the most part painful narrative, to record the gratifying reception which the King of Ashantee gave to Sir William Winniett in October, 1848, when that officer proceeded to visit him as the representative of the queen to convey various presents, and to endeavour to induce the Ashantee monarch to abolish human sacrifices. The governor was accompanied by Captain Powell, and a company of the 1st West India regiment as a guard of honour, and 150 men, consisting of the band, hammock-bearers, servants, &c. He reached Coomassie ten days after leaving the coast, having lodged several nights during his route at the Wesleyan Mission school-houses, and was hospitably entertained for eighteen days at the spacious Wesleyan mission-house in the Ashantee capital. The king welcomed his visitor in right regal style; salutes of musketry were fired at every village as he traversed the kingdom; and on his arrival at Coomassie, at least 80,000 people had assembled. His reception is thus described by Governor Winniett:—

"At 8 A.M. we reached Karsi; and, after breakfast, prepared for our entry into the capital. Here I was waited on by the king's messengers, who were sent to conduct us into the town. \* \* \* At a distance of about a mile from the town, a party of messengers, with gold-handled swords of office, arrived with the king's compliments. After halting for a short time, we proceeded to the entrance of the first street, and then formed in order of procession. Presently, a party of the king's linguists, with four large umbrellas, ensigns of chieftainship, came up to request me to halt for a few minutes, under the shade of a large banyan tree in the street, to give the king a little more time to prepare to receive me. After a brief delay of about twenty minutes, during which a large party of the king's soldiers fired a salute about 100 yards distant from us, we moved on to the market-place, where the king and his chiefs were seated under their large umbrellas, according to the custom of the country, on the reception of strangers of distinction. They, with their numerous captains and attendants, occupied three sides of a large square, and formed a continuous line of heads, extending about 600 yards, and about ten yards in depth. Under each large umbrella, and towards the back of the line, the umbrellas being placed about thirty yards from each other throughout the whole line, a chief was seated on a native chair, decorated with round-headed nails of brass, silver, or gold, according to his rank, with a narrow space left open among his people in the foreground, that we might see him distinctly as we passed, and, according to the custom of the country on such occasions, wave the right hand in token of friendly recognition. After we had passed along about three-fourths of the line, we found the king surrounded by about twenty officers of his household, and a large number of messengers, with their gold-handled swords and canes of office. Several very large umbrellas, some consisting of silk velvet of different colours, shaded him and his suite from the rays of the sun. The king's chair was richly decorated with gold; and the display of golden ornaments about his own person and those of his suite was most magnificent. The lumps of gold adorning the wrists of the king's attendants, and many of the principal chiefs, were so large, that they must have been quite fatiguing to the wearers.

"The King of Ashantee is about six feet high, stout,

and strong built, and appears to be about from fifty-two to fifty-six years of age. He is a man of mild and pleasing countenance, and quite free from any of those shades of native ferocity which are so disgusting to the taste and feelings of an European.

"We occupied about an hour in moving in procession from under the banyan tree, where we had rested on entering the town, over a space of about a mile and a half in length, to the end of the line formed for our reception; after which, we proceeded to an eligible situation in an open space at some distance from the market place, and there took our seats, according to the etiquette of the country, to receive the complimentary salute of the king and his chiefs in return. At 3.15 P.M. they commenced moving in parties, in procession, and occupied the ground before us from five to ten deep, until 6 P.M., a period of two hours and three quarters. Those whom we first saluted in the market place passed us first in order, maintaining the greatest regularity; each chief was preceded by his band of rude music, consisting chiefly of drums and horns, followed by a body of soldiers under arms, and shaded by a large umbrella; those of the highest rank stopped before me, and danced to their rude music, by way of testifying their satisfaction at seeing me, and their good-will towards me. The king was preceded by many of the officers of his household, and his messengers with the gold-handled swords, &c., and other officers of the household followed him; some of his favourite wives also passed in procession. When the king came opposite me, he first danced, and then approached me, and I took him cordially by the hand. After the king, other chiefs, and a large body of troops, passed in due order, and at 6 P.M. the ceremony closed. During the whole of the day the greatest excitement prevailed in the town, the population of which was swelled by strangers called in by the king, or detained after the close of the recent Yam custom, on account of my visit, from the usual amount of about 25,000 to upwards of 80,000.

"Coomassie is very different in its appearance from any other native town that I have seen in this part of Africa; the streets are generally very broad and clean, and ornamented with many beautiful banyan trees, affording a grateful shade from the powerful rays of the sun; the houses looking into the streets, are all public rooms on the ground floor, varying in dimensions from about 24 feet by 12, to 15 feet by 9: they are entirely open to the street in front, but raised above its level, from 1 to 6 feet, by an elevated floor, consisting of clay polished with red ochre; they are entered from the street by steps made of clay, and polished like the floor. The walls consist of wattle-work plastered with clay, and washed with white clay; the houses are all thatched with palm leaves, and, as the eaves of the roofs extend far over the walls, the front basement of the raised floors, which is generally covered with rude carvings of various forms, have their beautiful polish preserved from the effects of both sun and rain. This mode of building gives to the streets a peculiar aspect of cheerfulness. Each of these open rooms is connected with a number of rooms behind it, quite concealed from public view, which constitute the dwellings of the people, and there may be connected with each public room, in the manner above described, from 50 to 250 inmates. Immediately after the procession had closed, we repaired to the Wesleyan mission-house, where we found comfortable arrangements made by the Rev. Mr. Hillard, the missionary resident in Coomassie, for convenient quarters during our stay.

"Greatly as I had been interested with the manner in which the king received me, the appearance of such a vast number of uncivilized men under such entire control, the new style of building exhibited, and its pretty contrast with the ever fresh and pleasing green of the banyan trees, I was equally interested and excited at the appearance of the Wesleyan mission-house,—a neat cottage, built chiefly with the teak or edoom wood of the country, containing, on the second floor, a large hall, and two airy bed-rooms, entirely surrounded by a spacious verandah; and, on the

first floor, a store-room and a small chapel, or preaching room; in the front, looking into one of the finest and most open streets in the town, is a little garden, planted with orange, lime, bread-fruit, and fig trees (the two latter having been recently introduced from the coast), and behind the house, a spacious court-yard, planted with the sour-sop tree, and surrounded by rooms consisting of servants' and workmen's apartments, so simply constructed, and yet so spacious, as to afford room, without any inconvenience, for quarters for the whole of the men consisting of the guard of honour. As I sat down in the airy spacious hall in the cool of the evening, after all the toils and excitement of the day, and contemplated this little European establishment, planted in the midst of barbarism, 200 miles into the interior of Africa, exhibiting to thousands of untutored pagans the comforts and conveniences of civilized life, and the worship of the true God, I could not but think deeply and feelingly on the great triumph thus achieved by Christianity and civilization."

The first royal present sent to the embassy consisted of two bullocks, four sheep, six pigs, turkeys, ducks, guinea-fowl, poultry, pigeons, yams, rice, plantains, eggs, honey, oranges, ground nuts, sundry vegetables, &c. The present was conveyed by 550 men, accompanied by several officers of the king's household and their retinue, amounting to not less than 300 men, in order to mark the good will of the king, and his sense of the gracious notice of the British Queen.

Respecting human sacrifices, his majesty said—"the number had been greatly exaggerated: attempts had thus been made to injure his name; and he hoped that reports flying about the country would not be believed;" adding:—

"I remember that when I was a little boy, I heard that the English came to the coast of Africa with their ships, for cargoes of slaves, for the purpose of taking them to their own country and eating them; but I have long since known that the report was false; and so it will be proved, in reference to many reports which have gone forth against me." To which the governor answered, that he believed his majesty, and he hoped the king would not forget, that in every life which he saved from sacrifice, he would be considered as conferring a favour upon the Queen of England and the British nation."

The country palace of the monarch is called *Eburasi*, distant three and a-half miles from Coomassie, by a good road kept in excellent order; and the king drives about in a beautiful and well-appointed phaeton, which was presented to him by the Wesleyan Mission in 1841, and which is evidently prized, by the care with which it is kept. The premises at *Eburasi* cover four acres; the ground is high, and the country open. A sumptuous entertainment was given at this residence to Sir W. Winniett, who thus describes its interior, and the feast set before him:—

"Many of the rooms around the squares were occupied with neat bedsteads of European manufacture, dressed with silk hangings, and decorated with mirrors, pictures, time-pieces, fancy boxes, chandeliers, and many other articles of European manufacture. After passing through and examining the principal apartments, we entered a square where the table was set for dinner, under the shade of some large umbrellas, about ten feet in diameter, and the king immediately entered, and engaged freely in conversation with us; in a short time dinner was placed on the table, in a manner quite consistent with English table, and it was really very nicely served up; it consisted of soup, a sheep roasted whole, a sheep dressed in joints, a turkey, fowl, a variety of vegetables, plum-pudding, oranges, ground-nuts, &c., ale, wine, and liqueurs. The king excused himself from actually sitting and eating at table, on the ground of his inability to use, with ease, a knife and fork like an European, but he sat opposite me,

and looked on with great interest, took wine with me and the gentlemen of my suite, and talked with great freedom on ordinary topics of conversation. At all our previous interviews he has generally been dressed in a rich cloth, but on this occasion he wore an officer's uniform. After dinner the king took us to the apartments of the ladies of the court, and introduced me to them, declaring that no Ashantee, not even a favorite chieftain, had ever been introduced to that part of the palace, or to the ladies occupying it."

The king expressed throughout the most friendly feelings towards the British nation. Independent of the advantages derivable from his alliance for the suppression of slavery and barbarism, our mercantile classes will perceive that this extension of civilization in the interior of Africa must largely benefit our commerce, nor should it be forgotten that the progress already made is due almost exclusively to the disinterested and devoted labours of missionaries and missionary societies.

**PHYSICAL FEATURES—TOPOGRAPHY.**—The sea-line of the district to which the attractive name of "The Gold Coast" has been given, on account of the considerable quantities of the precious metal found in its alluvial soil and in the channels of the water-courses, extends between the Assinee River and Cape St. Paul, for a distance of about 286 miles. Viewed from the sea, it is chiefly characterized by a considerable projection at *Cape Three Points*, which is situated about 66 miles from the northern, and 220 from the southern points above named. The beach throughout is sandy, with occasional rocky prominences, on which there is generally, with the south or west wind during the rainy season, a heavy swell and high surf. The shore affords little shelter or safe anchorage; there are no navigable rivers; and a great dearth of harbours and good roadsteads; even Accra and the Rio Volta having merely boat entrances. In addition to these disadvantages to the prosecution of maritime commerce, is a scarcity of wholesome fresh water.

For nearly 200 miles from the Assinee to Accra, the coast region is marked by gentle elevations, rarely exceeding 500 feet in height; it is thickly wooded with low trees, and intersected by rivers or rivulets, in whose vicinity are many marshes and salt lakes, which dry up during the months of December, January, and February. A deep rich clay predominates in the lower land.

In the neighbourhood of Accra the country is more level; the light, dry, and sandy soil rests on horizontal strata of primary sandstone; vegetation is exuberant; and the native towns are numerous and well populated. The scenery in some parts is pleasing; consisting of extensive plains, interspersed with clumps of trees. In the interior the land frequently rises into lofty mountains, and presents extensive and unexplored forests, tenanted by elephants, tigers, jackals, &c., and many kinds of venomous reptiles. The sea border, eastward to the Rio Volta, continues somewhat similar in appearance, but inferior in fertility. Towards the river it is more thickly wooded, and abounds in game.

The various forts and settlements at present or formerly occupied, and in either case still claimed by England, may perhaps be best shown by beginning with the most northerly, and describing them in the order in which they occur along the coast, noticing, in passing, the Dutch commercial stations (occupied and unoccupied) in their vicinity.

\* Copies of Despatches, &c., Parl. Papers, 14th of June, 1849; p. 169.



*Cape Appolonia* lies about thirty miles to the south-east of the Assinee River, in  $5^{\circ} 10' N.$  lat.,  $2^{\circ} 36' W.$  long. The African company had formerly a small fort and settlement here, but the trade was not extensive, or deemed likely to become so, while the anchorage was bad and the spot unhealthy, from its low and moist character of rank vegetation, and vicinity to a marshy lake of some miles in circumference.

About twenty miles beyond Appolonia is the River Cobre, with the town of Axim, and a Dutch fort and factory on the eastern side of it. The fort is built on a small rocky promontory, and is accessible only on one side. The landing-place is good, but the tract is unhealthy, and the river navigable merely by canoes, but rich in gold dust, which is borne down by its current from the interior. The land is low and wet, but the negroes successfully and industriously cultivate both rice and maize. (Boyle's *Western Africa*, p. 322.) On the more hilly and elevated coast, towards Cape Three Points, is a smaller Dutch fort, called Brandenburg Castle. The cape derives its name from presenting to the sea three points, between which are two bays with sandy bottoms, good anchorage and lading; on the shores of the more easterly the Dutch have a now abandoned fort, at a place called Arquidah. Twelve miles from Arquidah is the British settlement of *Dix Cove*, which is far better situated for commercial purposes than any of the stations before mentioned. It is situated sixty miles to the westward of Cape Coast Castle, and is the only place on this part of the coast where vessels of even thirty tons can enter. There is an abundant supply of refreshments, and of wood and water; the anchorage and landing-place are safe and tolerably convenient, but the surf is at all times considerable, and communication with the shore sometimes impracticable for the space of two or three weeks. The fort, which is large, in good repair, and mounts about twenty-four pieces of cannon, is built on an elevated prominence, forming the extremity of a considerable creek, accessible only to boats, being barred by coral reefs. The place derives its importance from its vicinity to the great pathway to the inland districts of Tuffero and Warsaw. Between Dix Cove and the River St. John, in  $5^{\circ} 10' N.$  lat., and  $10^{\circ} 28' W.$  long., which is navigable by boats nearly twenty miles, there are several small commercial stations; and at one of these, *Succondee*, there were two small and abandoned forts, one Dutch and the other English; as also in the district of *Commenda* or *Kommani*, which extends about fifteen miles along the coast beyond the St. John. The Dutch and the British forts stand near together, the former on a little mount known by the name of the Gold Hill. *Succondee* has a good landing-place, the country behind it and *Commenda* is fertile, and the people are quiet and tractable. About eight miles to the eastward of *Commenda* is *St. George del Mina*, or *Elmina*, on a small river, which affords considerable accommodation for coasting craft. This, the earliest West African station of the Portuguese, and now the chief Dutch settlement, with its commanding and well-built fortifications, still presents a very formidable appearance, though it has been of late years much neglected. The town is long, irregularly built, and thinly inhabited: it stands on a low and flat peninsula, bounded by the ocean on the south, the River Benja on the north, the Castle Mina on the east, and *Commenda* on the west. This once powerful and valuable commercial

station is now of comparatively small importance. Ten miles to the eastward of it lies the principal British settlement on the Gold Coast.

CAPE COAST CASTLE, in  $5^{\circ} 6' N.$  lat.,  $1^{\circ} 10' W.$  long., distant from Sierra Leone 1,100 miles, is built upon an insignificant eminence, about fifty feet in height. The cape itself, called "Cabo Corso" by the Portuguese, is a low angular point of sandy land, jutting out into the sea. The anchorage is but indifferent, and there is no river either for the supply of the shipping or the town with water. The castle (see Map) is an irregular figure of four sides, with bastions at each angle, mounting in all from 80 to 100 guns. An extensive line of buildings, three stories high, runs north and south, dividing the fort into two nearly equal parts, and comprises the government house, &c. A structure, similar in height, extends eastward, and occupies a triangular space of considerable extent.

The garrison is chiefly supplied with water by means of tanks constructed for the reception of all the water that falls on the different roofs of the buildings in the castle.

A large tract of adjacent country, formerly covered with wood, has been cleared, and is now under cultivation. At a distance of about two miles to the eastward, a chain of hills, forming an irregular amphitheatre 160 feet above the level of the sea, commences and runs in a semicircular direction, approaching the castle at some places within a quarter of a mile, and terminating on the shore a mile to the westward of it. There are no mountains within several miles of the Cape, the highest land not rising above 200 feet; nor are there any plains of great extent; clumps of hills, with their corresponding valleys, are however everywhere to be seen. The soil near the coast is considered sterile, but about four miles inland it is rich, unusually deep, fit for most descriptions of tropical produce, and generally covered with dense jungle, very beautiful to the eye, but fearfully inimical to health. Governor Winniett, during a mission to the king of Ashantee, in October, 1848, before adverting to, traversed a large extent of fine country; at six to twelve miles from Cape Coast Castle, he found a fertile tract, studded with silk cotton trees, palms, and plantations of the plantain and banana. As he proceeded further inland the region became more populous; and between the sea-coast and the *Prah River* (distant 100 miles from Cape Coast Castle), which forms a boundary of the Ashantee kingdom, he passed through forty-eight villages (many of recent creation), whose population was estimated at 17,760. The Prah, at the ferry where he crossed, is about eighty yards wide; from bank to bank about 100; current, three miles an hour. The scenery is rendered very attractive by the elegant and varied foliage of the trees.

The native towns on this coast are generally built close to the walls of the European forts; the dwellings are principally constructed of clay (*swish*), covered with Guinea grass, and so crowded together as to render it almost impossible to pass through the spaces allotted for streets; ventilation is of course very imperfect, and the villages are consequently too often productive of disease, not only to their inhabitants, but also to the Europeans who reside near them.

To this description, Cape Coast Town, and some others, are, however, exceptions. About five miles north-west from the castle is a small river, running

in a southerly direction, and emptying itself into the sea within two miles of Elmina, forming the boundary between the Dutch and British possessions.

At *Annamaboo*, eleven miles to the eastward of Cape Coast Castle, we have a good fortification, mounting about twenty pieces of cannon, built in a quadrangular form, on the very margin of the shore, the sea washing the base of the southern boundary wall. The anchorage is tolerably good. A considerable native town surrounds the fort in the form of a crescent, beyond which inland the country rises into hills, and is densely covered with underwood, and some large trees. The Dutch had a military post (Fort Amsterdam), now abandoned, about six miles further to the eastward, separated from that of the English by the little river Cormantine. A bold coast extends for about fifteen miles from Fort Amsterdam to *Tantamquerry Point*, near which there are two deserted British and Dutch forts; a short distance beyond is the town of *Winnebah*, where the British had a strong fort, abandoned in 1812. From *Winnebah* to Accra there is an irregular sea-line of about nineteen miles.

*Accra* lies in about  $5^{\circ}33'$  N. lat., and  $0^{\circ}5'$  W. long., about 100 miles to the north-east of Cape Coast Castle. The view from seaward is picturesque, the houses white and regularly built, stand in an extensive grassy plain, studded with "bush," or groves of varying foliage, presenting the appearance of an extensive park. As the voyager advances towards the river Succomo the prospect widens, and is finally bounded by high lands, whose slopes yield excellent sheep pasturage. The country round is in general a fine, open, and level land; the soil differs, presenting a sandy, reddish, or black rich mould, suitable for agriculture, and in many parts for the cultivation of the sugar-cane and of the cotton-tree, which grows spontaneously. There are three forts at Accra; that named *Crevecoeur*, belonging to the Dutch, is in a very dilapidated state. *James' Fort*, belonging to England, within a cannon-shot of *Crevecoeur*, has been recently rebuilt, and has barracks for seventy-five men and three officers, an hospital for thirty patients, and mounts about thirty pieces of cannon.

The third fort is the most westerly, and likewise the most important of those recently purchased by England from the king of Denmark. *Christianborg Castle* is a fortification of considerable extent and strength, and when transferred, in March 1850, had forty guns mounted on its battlements. The officers' quarters are good, and the suite of apartments occupied in past times by the Danish governor, spacious and convenient. There is a martello tower a few hundred yards to the westward of the castle; it will mount twelve guns, has two upper rooms, and store rooms underneath, and is surrounded by a substantial brick wall. The town, built on rising ground, has in it an immense tank, constructed by the Danes. About a mile from the beach is the government property of *Fredericksborg*, comprising two large and excellent stone houses, also made over to us. Among the stores in the castle there were 60 cannon of different sizes, including two brass field guns, with ammunition carriages and four rocket guns, complete. *Tasie* (where there is a small half ruined Danish fort), *Temma* and *Pona*, near the mouth of the River Elaoe, are native villages on the coast, which were passed, with the other dependencies of Denmark, to England. A few miles to the eastward of Elaoe is the thriving British station named *Pram Pram*, and

seven miles further is the Ningo River, at the mouth of which there is a town, with about 1,000 inhabitants. It has some factories, and like *Pram Pram*, carries on a considerable trade in palm oil. A beautiful plain then skirts the coast for many miles, bounded to the north by the lofty *Siai*, *Krobbo*, and other mountains, one of which, called *Ningo Grande*, towers above the rest in the form of a sugar-loaf. The Danish, now British, fort (*Friedensburg*) at this station, is in ruins.

The country between Ningo and the Rio Volta, distant about 40 miles, is very low, an extensive belt of flat open country stretching between the beach and a wide expanse of marshy ground, which is under water during the rainy season, and in dry weather presents the appearance of small shallow lakes, surrounded by a scanty vegetation, on which herds of majestic deer find pasture. Here and there near the shore are some bee-hive formed huts, whose rude and diminutive appearance testifies how little art has done for the comfort of the inhabitants; and contrast strikingly with the abundant natural store of "bullocks, sheep, goats, turkeys, ducks, fowls, &c." with which Sir Wm. Winniett found them supplied in 1850. The mouth of the Volta is deep, and about half a mile wide, but has a dangerous bar, a short distance within which the stream expands into a basin two to three miles broad, which contains several islands covered with brushwood. The banks are low, of thick black mud, in most parts swampy, densely overgrown with mangrove bush and other aquatic shrubs and plants; and, together with much of the adjacent country, overflowed during the rains. *Fort Adda*, or *Koningstein*, is situated on the right bank of the Volta, about ten miles from its entrance. The river is here half a mile wide, and of considerable depth, but its navigation is interrupted by shallows.

The fort is in some parts dilapidated, but there are three available rooms for officers, and nine for troops and stores. *Atoko*, with about 3,000 inhabitants, and another adjacent village near it, with an equal number, are situated a few miles to the eastward of the Volta. The dwellings are, with few exceptions, of the usual bee-hive form. Mr. Baeta, a Portuguese merchant, has resided here for ten years.

*Augna*, seven miles to the eastward, is the chief town of the district, and of similar appearance to *Atoko*. At these as well as at the other places, the leaders, or "headmen" readily acknowledged the transfer of the sovereignty to Britain, as did the few Danish residents, throughout the ceremonies attending the change of flags, though these last, especially in Accra, could not but look on the proceeding with natural regret. The Augna country comprises the territory from the eastern side of the Volta to *Quittah*, a distance of about forty miles; it is quite flat, unbroken by a single hillock. At a few miles from the coast it is skirted by a shallow lagoon of some miles wide, containing several islands, which have on them many villages and plantations, but the largest towns are on the plain. The soil is light, sandy, and moist—very productive of grass and all kinds of vegetables, and abounding in magnificent groves of cocoa-nut trees, beneath whose shade the native habitations are frequently constructed. Fine droves of bullocks graze in every direction; turkeys, ducks, and all kinds of poultry, are plentiful, while the palm-tree adorns the scenery, and contributes to the wealth of the industrious people. This rich country



furnishes nearly all the live stock consumed by the European and respectable native residents along the sea border we have now been examining. Cape St. Paul, to which the Gold Coast is sometimes considered to extend—other geographers considering the Volta the boundary—is a very low, projecting point, about fifteen miles further to the eastward. *Quittah*, thirteen miles beyond Cape St. Paul, has a Danish (now British) fortification of considerable strength, in good repair, on which twenty guns may be conveniently mounted. It contains six officers' rooms on the battlements, five large store-rooms underneath, and six other rooms, affording space for the permanent residence of at least fifty soldiers. It stands on a narrow neck of land, about midway between an extensive lagoon and the beach of the Bight of Benin, and entirely commands the plain, which at this place is not a quarter of a mile wide. The once flourishing town of Quittah was destroyed by the fire from the fortress some time since, in consequence of a dispute between the Danish authorities and the natives, who now propose to rebuild their habitations, under British protection. The country around was conquered by the local government of Christianborg, at considerable expense, in 1788-9, in consequence of the Augna people kidnapping and selling into slavery, traders and other persons from the west side of the *Volta*.

The tract of country to the westward of the Rio Volta, formerly belonging to Denmark, now to England, is extensive, and stretches some way into the interior. The portion near the lower part of the river is uninhabited; further west it consists of lofty isolated hills, with verdant plains, studded with myrtle, palm, and other trees.

*Akim*, the most inland of our new possessions, borders on the Ashantee country, and is about 100 miles from the coast. The soil is very fertile, the country extensive, and occupied by one of the largest tribes in this part of Africa. Farther to the eastward, bordering on the Volta, *Kripang Tojeng River*, and their numerous tributaries, are the Aquambus, Crepees, and other tribes, who held Danish flags, and recognised the authority of the Danish crown. From the late Sir W. Winniet's recent tour, we derive some acquaintance with the territory inland between the *Sakumo-fio River* to the westward of Christianborg and Pram Pram. The country is watered by several fine streams, which descend from the Aquapim Mountains, or from Siai, Krobbo, and other hills. Krobbo, to the northward of Siai, is of considerable elevation, and has villages perched on its summit, amongst immense blocks of granite, and handsome trees and shrubs, so that, at some distance, it is difficult to distinguish the houses. Three miles from the foot of Krobbo Mountain there is a low well-watered tract stretching to the *Aquapim Mountains*, and very thickly studded with palm trees. In the centre of this fertile plain, the chief of Krobbo has established a palm oil factory, and in the midst of the oil-pits, with all the movements of busy industry going on around him, he received Sir W. Winniet as the representative of his sovereign.

*Akropong*, the chief town of the Aquapims, is situated on the summit of the Aquapim Mountains; it has a population of about 1,000 souls; and under its control and influence are sixteen villages scattered for many miles along the crest of a ridge of hills in an extremely fertile district. The Aquapims are, in manners and customs (save in that of human sacrifices, which the Danes prohibited) very like the

Ashantees. The chief of Akropong, accompanied by his headmen and a number of attendants, received the British Governor, on 20th March, 1850, with a salute of musketry. After conversing in a satisfactory manner with Governor Carstensen on the subject of the transfer of the settlements, he and his headmen, each in order from the lowest to the highest, took a sword by its point, held it almost at arm's length, with the handle towards Sir William Winniet, and vowed, according to the fashion of the country, fealty to the Queen of England. The ceremony was very interesting, and took place in the Mission premises belonging to the Basle (Swiss Missionary) Society. The station is prettily situated in a grove composed of noble orange trees, with a few fine West Indian mangoes. It contains four dwelling-places for the missionaries and their families, five cottages occupied by West Indian families brought over in 1842, a school-room, carpenter's and blacksmith's shops and other offices; and about ten out of forty acres adjoining the buildings are under cultivation, chiefly coffee trees and arrow-root. There are some seventy children in the school, and twenty natives of Akropong are members of the little church.

The Aquapim country is considered to be well adapted for agriculture. The Danish Governor of Christianborg (M. Schionning) says, "as to beauty of prospect, pleasing variety, and local advantages, I never saw any thing equal, nor can I compare any part of the world, where I have been, to it."—(Beecham, p. 142.)

There is also another settlement in the mountains, named *Abodi. Frederiksgar*, which has a convenient government house, a grove of orange trees, and a coffee plantation, is situated at the base, twelve miles from Christianborg.—(Parl. Papers, July, 1850.)

**YORUBA AND ABBEOKUTA.**—British influence is now paramount in a portion of the ancient kingdom of *Yoruba*, lying due north of the Bight of Benin, between 6° 10' N. lat., and 2° 6' W. long. *Abbeokuta*, the chief town of the Egba province of Yoruba, contains 50,000 inhabitants, and is situated on the river Ogu, which is navigable for about fifty miles down to the sea at the island of Lagos. European missionaries (Church of England) first visited Abbeokuta in 1845, and have succeeded in establishing there one of the most successful missions on the Guinea Coast. The Egba chiefs are characterized by their aptitude and desire for lawful commerce; and their markets are frequented by traders from the Niger, and the interior of Africa. They are entirely opposed to the slave trade, and have lived for years in constant dread of the slave hunts and hostilities of their powerful neighbours, the tyrant ruler of, or "leopard," of Dahomey, and a slave dealing chief named Kosoko, who usurped his relative Akitoye's authority over that stronghold of the West African slave trade, Lagos Island, which commands the mouth, and consequently the commerce of the Ogu River. About 3,000 liberated Africans have proceeded to Abbeokuta from Sierra Leone, accompanied by several members of the society, including the Rev. Samuel Crowther, an ordained minister, of negro origin, possessed of great zeal and considerable talent; who has published a valuable grammar and vocabulary of the Yoruba language.

Towards the end of 1850, it became evident that the various parties interested in the continuance of the slave trade had resolved upon making a combined effort to crush the rising Christianity and commerce of Abbeokuta, expel the missionaries, and reduce the

inhabitants to slavery. In March, 1851, the king of Dahomey sent a powerful army to attack the town. Masses of trained warriors, male and female, estimated at from 11,000 to 16,000, well armed with muskets, advanced upon the low mud-wall of Abeokuta, and fought with desperation, but were completely routed, leaving 1,209 dead on the field of battle. The signal success of the Egbas, and their subsequent unusually gentle treatment of their prisoners, exercised a very beneficial result on the surrounding nations. Their security has been further promoted by the reduction of Lagos by the British, under Commodore Bruce, in December, 1851, the restoration of Akitoye, and the formation of a treaty with him for protection to missionaries, freedom of commerce, abolition of slave trade, and human sacrifices. It would be, of course, unreasonable to expect all this at once, but the influences of religion and commerce are operating in various ways, and inclining even the more warlike tribes to keep faith with Great Britain.

**CLIMATE AND DISEASE.**—A nearly vertical sun for the greater part of the year—excessive rains brought by the westerly winds from the Atlantic—a rank vegetation, and extensive marshes, produce here, as elsewhere, a *malaria* or *poisonous air* which is destructive of human, and especially of European life; and two out of every five Europeans having been estimated to die of the seasoning or remittent fever which all new comers experience. Lately an improved therapeutical system has been adopted; venesection abandoned, and large doses of quinine have successfully checked the fever, instead of being administered only when the crisis had passed. Several individuals, by moderation in diet and care, have enjoyed good health on this coast; and the mountainous country behind Accra would doubtless be found salubrious.

The rainy season commences at the end of April, or beginning of May, and continues with severity until July or August. Dense humid fogs succeed, and prevail till October, when the sky clears, and the dry or healthy season begins. The average temperature is about the same range as that of Sierra Leone. There is a regular sea and land breeze along the coast; but the latter, which sets in about 5 P.M. from the south-east, is so laden with moisture as to cause a sensation of chilliness beyond what the thermometer indicates. During the Ashantee War, 1823 to 1826, it was found necessary to send white troops to garrison the forts; a part of the Royal African Corps, which had been disbanded at the Cape of Good Hope, was re-embodied, and strengthened by commuted punishment men from regiments serving in England. They were a degraded class, and a noxious climate acts with peculiar severity on men with depressed minds. Two-thirds of the corps died annually; and in 1824 the deaths nearly equalled the mean strength of the garrison. Few lived to complete one year in the command. In 1828 the surviving white soldiers were removed to Fernando Po, and none have been employed at Cape Coast since. The mortality of the black troops employed there is only from two to three per cent. per annum.

**GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.**—The geological characteristics of the country are almost unknown. Gold is extensively distributed. The late President McLean informed me he had seen large districts where the soil was entirely impregnated with fine particles of the precious metal; there are, therefore, probably extensive deposits in the mountains, of

which portions are comminuted, and washed down into the lowlands by the rains. That brought by the natives for barter, is obtained by washing the sands of rivers, and other places, where the metal is known to be diffused.

**GOVERNMENT.**—The British forts on the Gold Coast were, the reader will remember, erected by, and long remained under the control of the different African companies, the last of which received annual grants from Parliament for its maintenance from 1750 to 1821. When the company was abolished, several of the forts were abandoned, and the remainder surrendered to the Crown, and subjected to the authority of the Governor of Sierra Leone. In 1827, the retained forts were placed under the management of a London committee of African merchants, to whom was confided the disbursement of the small annual parliamentary grant, amounting to about £4,000 a-year.

The chief authority is now vested in a Lieutenant-Governor, aided by a small council, and subject to the orders of the government at Sierra Leone. A judicial assessor, or assistant of the native chiefs, appointed by the Queen, holds an open court at Cape Coast Castle every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, when all "*palavers*," as trials are termed by the natives, are publicly held. His duty is to maintain the due authority of the chiefs, to civilize their judicial proceedings, to mitigate their punishments, and to substitute for a barbarous and cruel tyranny the principles of humanity and justice. His jurisdiction is of undefined extent; and, indeed, his position appears anomalous; but the appointment has nevertheless been productive of very beneficial results. Acting-Lieutenant-Governor FitzPatrick, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated 10th March, 1850, says, "There is scarcely a public or private wrong which he (the assessor) is not called on to remedy, or a right of the greatest magnitude as well as of the most trifling nature which he has not to establish and maintain. On one day he has to pass judgment on a powerful chief who travels through the country for ten or twelve days, surrounded by his armed followers, to lay his wealth, his liberty, and it may be his life, at the disposal of a judge whom he has never seen, but whose justice he confides in, and whose power he fears, from the character of the country which employs him. And on the next day he is asked to decide the amount of compensation that should be paid to an injured husband, one of whose numerous wives has had her garment rudely touched by a stranger."

According to the same authority there is not a chief, however powerful, within the limits of British jurisdiction, who does not feel, that if he persecutes, extorts, tyrannizes, or commits any crime against the weakest of his people, he is sure to be brought to account for it. There are resident magistrates who are also commandants at Annamaboo, Dix Cove, and Accra, and the judicial assessor visits their courts twice a-year to hear appeals, and to review the magisterial business.

There is no jurisdiction whereby a white man can be tried for felony on the Gold Coast; he must be sent to Sierra Leone, or to England.

**MILITARY DEFENCE.**—About eighty soldiers of a West India Regiment, and a local force, 100 strong, termed the *Gold Coast Corps*, are, owing to the respect paid to the British name, enabled to preserve tranquillity along this coast. There is also a militia available in case of war. The pay of the



local corps is, per man, 25s. a month. Their character and conduct is good.

**POPULATION.**—The British territories on the Gold Coast have been for some years free from the evils of the slave trade, war, pestilence, or famine. Population is therefore increasing, and is loosely estimated at 400,000 souls, scattered over an area of about 8,000 square miles. There has been no census taken of the inhabitants of the territory newly acquired from Denmark. The total white population is thirty-three, of whom three are females. The Gold Coast natives are a large and finely-formed race, possessed of great physical strength; and in intellect they prove, when educated, in no respect inferior to Europeans. The habits of the people are greatly improved; they have abandoned human sacrifices; and alleged criminals, instead of being arbitrarily put to death by their chiefs, are now sent to Cape Coast Castle, to be tried by the English authorities.

**RELIGION.**—The Established Church of England has no representatives here; but the Wesleyans have exerted themselves nobly; and at every fort, and in each large village, they have a clerical or lay teacher, and a school-house. The Basle Missionary Society are also labouring worthily among the natives. There are no official returns on the subject; and, indeed, until very recently, neither local or general governments seem to have considered the state of religion, or its ordinances, as in any manner connected with the welfare and progress of the people committed to their charge.

**EDUCATION.**—There is a government establishment for the instruction of 150 boys within the fort at Cape Coast Castle, and schools for males and females at the several missionary stations. The Wesleyans alone spend £5,000 annually on the coast. Many of the coloured children exhibit much quickness and intelligence; several have already become shrewd merchants, and now import from England annually, on their own credit, goods to the value of £20,000 to £30,000. The native merchants were so gratified by the results of a public examination of the government and Wesleyan schools in 1851, that they made a donation of £50 towards their funds; and, together with all their countrymen under British protection, have cheerfully agreed to the imposition of a moderate tax for educational purposes, by which means instruction will be imparted to the natives farther in the interior.

Many of the adults of the newly-raised *Gold Coast* corps are now being taught in a regimental school, and when stationed at the different forts, their example and conduct will, it is hoped, tend greatly to the abolition of the barbarous "fetish" system, with its idolatrous worship, and human sacrifices; and also of polygamy, but this last change, desirable as it unquestionably is, ought not, perhaps, to be insisted on too peremptorily at first. The initiative, in a very important measure, has been adopted by the Rev. T. B. Freeman, a coloured gentleman of great talent, who has laboured successfully, since 1841, on this coast, and in different parts of the inland country. He states, in a valuable report forwarded by Governor Hill to the secretary of state, in July, 1852, that experience had convinced him that a system of education, unconnected with manual

labour and useful industry, however partially valuable, could not furnish that large number of youths, possessing Christian knowledge, blended with those habits of steady industry, without which civilization in Africa could never be healthy and progressive.\*

Mr. Freeman saw, also, that petty trading, associated as it generally was with an extensive retail traffic in ardent spirits, produced an injurious effect on many youths who had received an ordinary English education; and he rightly judged, that the cultivation of the soil, and the rearing of new and valuable products, would be a powerful instrument for effecting permanent moral, social, and commercial progress. He therefore established an agricultural school, in July, 1850, at *Beulah*, eight miles from Cape Coast Castle. The area under cultivation has been gradually extended; and in February, 1852, it consisted of a tract 400 yards long by 300 broad, traversed by pathways or roads, lined with cotton and coffee plants, which, in addition to arrow-root, the olive and vine, corn and vegetables, constitute the staple products. Strange to say, the vine thrives admirably; and in one year after planting, as mere cuttings, yielded bunches of fine ripe grapes. They are planted along a trellis-work, 244 yards in length, made with the stem of the wild date, palm-tree, and wild cane. The cotton plants are of the perennial kind, and yield two pickings yearly. The coffee is equal to the best West Indian produce, as is also the arrow-root. Corn and vegetables supply the scholars, who are divided into three classes, and work on the farm in the forenoon, aided by a few labourers to do the heavy work of clearing the land, grubbing up trees, &c. On the plantation there are cottages for the lay teachers and scholars, for the overlooker, and also a chapel. It is to be hoped that the rational policy so successfully initiated by Mr. Freeman on the Gold Coast, will be extended to all other missionary educational establishments, not only in western, but in southern Africa, and wherever the laudable endeavour is being made to Christianize and civilize the heathen. To set forth manual, and especially agricultural labour, in its true light, as an honourable employment, made essential by the Creator to the support and happiness of man, is the sole means of divesting it of the opprobrium naturally connected with it by slaves or savages; for free, intelligent, and reasoning Christians can alone appreciate its dignity and its uses.

**CRIME.**—The number of felonies throughout all the stations in 1851 was only 90, and the misdemeanours 32. The total number of prisoners during the year was 158. Murder or acts of personal violence are very rare, and it is stated, fewer than amongst an equal number of any European people.

**REVENUE IN 1851.**—Taxes, £947; customs, £443; fines, £370; light-houses, £38; sundries, £32; total, £1,830. An income might readily be raised by the imposition of a duty on spirits; of these, about three million gallons are annually imported, which, at one penny per gallon, would yield £12,500 per annum. At present the custom duty levied is merely one-half per cent. *ad valorem*, on all imports.

**EXPENDITURE.**—The cost of the forts on this coast formerly amounted to very large sums, derived from the African companies or from parliament:—From 1800 to 1828 inclusive, the sums in pounds sterling voted by parliament were, 40,000, 20,000, 18,000, 16,000, 18,000, 20,054, 20,138, 18,000, 23,000, 23,000, 23,500, (1811, no return),

\* A similar remark had been made some years before, by Mr. A. H. Hanson, the chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, and recently H.M. consul at Liberia.

35,000, 25,000, 25,000, 30,000, 23,000, 23,000, 28,000, 28,000, 25,000, 25,800, 26,742, 17,500, 52,354, 29,500, 35,996, 41,000, and in 1828, 12,000. From 1829 to 1831, £4,000; from 1832 to 1839, £3,500; and from 1840 to the present date, £4,000 per annum. In 1851 the total expenditure for the forts was £6,657, viz: £4,282 for the civil department, and £1,031 for the Gold Coast local corps. The commissariat expenditure for a detachment (80), of the West India regiment and for the forts, was in 1851, £4,287. The total cost to the British treasury in that year was £8,287. The lieutenant-governor has a salary of between £600 and £700 per annum.

COMMERCE.—The aggregate for ten years ending and including 1840, according to Dr. Madden's report, was—exports, £1,691,303; imports, £2,272,654. Excess of imports over exports, £581,351. During the last two years its value has been as follows:—

|      | Imports. | Exports. | Tons Inward. |
|------|----------|----------|--------------|
| 1850 | £88,656  | £259,432 | 11,758       |
| 1851 | 84,880   | 219,050  | 13,935       |

The exports in 1851, comprised gold dust, 64,000 ounces, value £175,600; palm oil, 13,000 tons, value £39,500; gum, 64 tons, value £1,900; ivory, 13 tons, value £1,500.

Manchester cloths, clothing, provisions, rum, wines, gunpowder, muskets, iron and lead bars, flints, cowries, beads, pipes, tobacco, hardware, brassware, earthenware, glass, soap, umbrellas, &c., form the principal articles of import.

MONIES OF ACCOUNT AND COINS.—As in England. Gold-dust is the principal currency: all large payments are made in it, at the value of £4 per ounce.

Cowries.—A small, compact, univalve shell, is employed as currency to the eastward of Cape Coast Castle, and large quantities form the hoarded wealth of some of the richest natives. Forty cowries are deemed equal in value to one penny English; and about 150 tons of these shells, valued at £80 per ton, are annually imported.

CULTIVATION AND LIVE-STOCK.—The official records contain no tables; it is merely stated, that both are rapidly increasing. About 53,000 acres are estimated to be under cultivation, consisting yearly of fresh land. Maize, millet, guinea-grains, ground-nuts, and coffee, are among the products. Around our forts it is calculated there are about 1,000 horned cattle, 5,000 sheep, and 4,000 goats. At least 1,000 canoes are employed in the fisheries, which are industriously prosecuted.

LIBERIA.—The negro settlement before referred to, situated between Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, originated with a few American citizens, who in 1816 formed a *Colonization Society*, to promote the migration of free people of colour from the United States to Africa. Two clergymen were sent in the following year to examine and report on the most eligible part of the west coast; and in February, 1820, a body of eighty-six coloured and three white persons, proceeded thither. They first settled on the island of Sherboro, near Sierra Leone, where an intelligent free negro, named Paul Cuffee, had established himself. The position proved ineligible and unhealthy; all the white and three-fourths of the coloured colonists died, and the remainder temporarily removed to Sierra Leone, whence (after being joined by thirty-three fresh emigrants) they proceeded in 1822 to a small island (Providence) near the mouth of the Mesurado River,

and selected the adjacent main as the site of their future capital, named *Monrovia*.

From time to time further migrations took place, and tracts of land were purchased from the native chiefs, so that now, according to a statement kindly furnished me by President Roberts, on the 3rd of November, 1852, "the government of Liberia have extinguished the native title to the whole coast lying between the *She Bar River*, on the north-west, and the southern boundary of Grand Cess, near Cape Palmas, on the south-east; excepting about four miles of the Kroo Coast, about two miles of the Gallinas territory, and perhaps six miles joining the *She Bar*." Of these spots the political jurisdiction and pre-emptive right of the first two have been ceded to Liberia, and a treaty is now in progress with the chiefs for the other. For the purchases they have been enabled to make, the Liberian government are materially indebted to the liberality of Samuel Gurney, one of the most distinguished members of the worthy Society of Friends, who in 1848 devoted £1,000 to that purpose. Liberia has a coast-line of 350 miles, extends inland for some 40 miles, and comprises an area of about 13,000 square miles. The immigrant population, principally emancipated slaves and their descendants, number about 7,000; the aborigines, who have crowded about the free settlement, amount to perhaps 150,000. A few coloured colonists from Maryland, United States, have settled at Cape Palmas. The money hitherto expended in purchasing territory, and conveying settlers to Liberia, has been about £200,000.

In July, 1847, a republican constitution was adopted. There are two houses of parliament, the *representative* and the *senate*. The elective franchise for the former is a real estate of \$150 annual value, in the possession of a citizen twenty-three years of age. Three members are elected for Montserado county, three for Grand Bassa county, one for Sinoe county, and for every 10,000 inhabitants who may be added to the republic, one representative will be admitted. The election is biennial. The senate consists of two members for each county, elected every four years; franchise, a real estate valued at \$200 annually. A president and vice-president are chosen every two years. Bills passed by both houses, are sent to the president for approval; if he objects, reasons must assigned; if, notwithstanding, the bill be again passed by two-thirds of the members in both houses, it becomes a law. The executive is confided to the president, aided by departmental secretaries of state.

The revenue is raised under a legislative act of 28th January, 1848, which imposes the following taxes:—Regular custom duty, 6 per cent.; woollen, cotton, and linen clothing, 12 per cent.; boots, shoes, hats, and bonnets, 10 per cent., and molasses, 12 per cent.; coffee and soap, each one half-penny per lb.; direct consignments from abroad, 2 per cent. extra; seeds and books, free; commission merchant's license, \$15; retail dealer, \$12; auctioneer, \$16; wine and spirit seller, \$50 per annum. The tariff is therefore far more liberal than that of the United States of America, or of any European nation in commercial intercourse with England. The revenue of £6,000 per annum, barely covers the expenditure. The military defence consists of a militia and a few armed vessels. The face of the country is undulating; at a little distance inland it becomes hilly, and is well watered. Three ports are available for vessels not drawing much water, viz., *Monrovia*, *Edina*, on the St. John's River, and *Bassa Cove* and *Grenville* on the Sinon River.



### CHAPTER III.

#### POPULATION OF WESTERN AFRICA—PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY—CHURCH AND WESLEYAN MISSION STATIONS—COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS AND PROSPECTS.

OUR ignorance of Western Africa, beyond its mere coast line, reflects little credit on European science, and is, in a great measure, the result of a career of crime and injustice, which good men of all nations must now deplore, and for which England at least has endeavoured to make some atonement. And yet it is a country calculated to reward most amply the investigation of the geographer, and the naturalist, the attention of the statesman, and the zealous labours of the Christian philanthropist. On no other shore of equal length are there so many navigable rivers, as are comprised within the limits of the *Senegal* on the north, and of the *Congo* on the south, of the equator. Of these immense terrestrial arteries we know comparatively little, and some of them only by name, yet they are believed to drain regions of exquisite beauty, and undoubted fertility, teeming with every variety of animal and vegetable life; and they offer a means of access, together with their innumerable tributary streams, to many kingdoms in different stages of civilization, whose aggregate population is estimated at thirty million souls.

Into the physical geography of these countries, even were our information on the subject less fragmentary than is actually the case, my limits, and the nature of this work, forbid me to enter. It remains, therefore, only to sketch briefly the characteristics which distinguish the leading nations of Western Africa; and the efforts now making for their evangelization, which efforts, it will be seen, are intimately connected with their temporal progress, by tending to develop the varied resources of the country, and to foster its growing commerce. In doing this I am again reluctantly obliged, from press of matter, to have recourse to smaller type.

Three great negro races inhabit the more northern part of western Africa, south of the Senegal River. First, the *Foulahs*, who are the same race with the *Fellatahs* of central Africa, dwell near the banks of the Senegal, Gambia, and other contiguous streams, and occupy the large kingdom of *Feota Jallon* to the north-east of Sierra Leone. They have neither the deep jet colour, the flat nose, or thick lips,

which characterize the extreme negro features; their skin is of an olive hue (*foota* signifying *white*) and the expression of their features agreeable. They have generally embraced the Mahomedan religion, having probably received it from the Moors who dwell on the north side of the Senegal River; but they are devoid of the bigotry which usually marks the followers of the false Prophet. In manners they are peculiarly courteous and gentle; they practise the most liberal hospitality, and relieve the wants not only of their own aged, but those of pagan tribes, who are scattered in different parts of the territory which they inhabit. Their pursuits are chiefly pastoral, and their internal government republican; that is, by chiefs of their own choosing. Such is their good conduct and industry that a blessing is said to rest on any territory which contains a *Foulah* village.

The second race, termed *Mandingoes*, are much more numerous than the preceding—more decidedly negro, both in form and disposition; and more diversified in their character and appearance by subdivision into tribes with distinct names. They are capable of great occasional exertion, but are devoid of the orderly habits and continuous industry of the *Foulahs*. Their occupations are chiefly agricultural and piscatory; but they also conduct large “*Kafilahs*” or trading expeditions into the interior, which they do the more readily, from their language being well understood in all commercial places.

They are inquisitive, cheerful, and so gay, that they will dance for hours to no other music than the beating of a drum, or “*tom-tom*.” Poetic improvisation forms one of their favourite amusements. This people occupy the elevated region termed *Manding*; they are also widely diffused over the highlands, at and near the head-waters of the Gambia, the Niger, and adjacent streams.

The third and least numerous nation are the *Jollofs*, who occupy the inland territory between the Senegal and the Gambia; though of a deep black colour, and decided negro features, they are considered a handsome race. They boast of being a very ancient people, and, in some respects, excel their neighbours; for instance, their language is softer, and more agreeable; they manufacture finer cotton cloths, and give them a superior dye; in horsemanship they are fearless and expert, and rival the Moors as hunters. Their computation is by fives instead of tens, and they have no written language. Scattered among these three large distinctive classes, there are various tribes of which we know comparatively little; the *Felloops*, a wild and rude people, inhabit the shores to the south of the Gambia, and the *Timmenees*, and the *Sherboro* natives border our colony at Sierra Leone. The *Veï*, or *Fey*, *Dey*, *Bassas*, *Sinon*, *Fishmen*, and other tribes, who inhabit the extensive district contiguous to the Liberian Republic, the Ivory Coast, and the Kong Mountains, are little known to us; they are very numerous, enterprising, and warlike.

The *Ashantees* have been mentioned in the history of our possessions on the Gold Coast. They are of

powerful form, bold, ingenious, and with dignified manners. They build large houses, smelt metals, and manufacture excellent cotton cloths. The Fantees, are, probably, a branch of the Ashantee family, but are, in several respects, inferior to their warlike neighbours. The *Dahomians*, to the east of Ashantee, are a bold race, and have subjugated the effeminate *Whydans* who dwell along the Slave Coast at the head of the Bight of Benin. Of the numerous races to the southward of the Bight of Biafra, and thence to the Namaquas and Damaras, who are located north of the Orange River, we know positively nothing. They must have been very numerous, and like the negro race in general very prolific, to have escaped the utter annihilation which the ravages of the slave trade for three centuries, and the demoralizing influence, example, and government of the Portuguese settlements on this coast, were calculated to produce. But the little of them seen by Captain Tuckey, during his expedition up the Congo, was so favourable, as to warrant the hope, that British commerce might be successfully extended in this direction. At present we have no maritime, mercantile, or missionary post, between the Bight of Benin and Walvisch Bay, a distance of more than 2,000 miles.

The foregoing remarks, brief and insufficient as they necessarily are, may yet afford some idea of the vast field open to Christian and commercial enterprise. Happy is it for Africa, but happier far for England, that these two can now go hand-in-hand, and that England can look for a blessing on her efforts, whether directed to the extension of her religion, or of her trade, since both the one and the other appear directly conducive to the permanent benefit of a people whom she has contributed, not slightly, to injure and degrade. We now proceed to notice the efforts of the various missionary associations.

**CHURCH MISSION.**—The labours of this Society at *Sierra Leone* and other points of the *Guinea and Gold Coasts*, form an important feature in the past history and present state of Western Africa, and are intimately connected with its future prospects of development. This institution early turned its attention to the condition of the native population in the year 1804, when the slave trade was at its height. Its first agents were settled among the *Susu* tribes, on the bank of the *Rio Pongas*, about 100 miles north of *Sierra Leone*; but after a few years' labour there, amidst many trials from the ungenial climate, the mission establishments were, at the instigation of the slave dealers, destroyed by fire, and the missionaries forced to take refuge within British territory. A station was formed in 1812 on the border of the colony; but even here it could not be sustained above six years.

The missions were then visited from England, and the result of the inquiry was the concentration of the society's efforts on *Sierra Leone*, where an extensive sphere of usefulness had been opened. Great Britain was then commencing her efforts for the suppression of the slave trade. Slave ships captured at sea were brought to *Sierra Leone* for condemnation; there the captives were liberated, to the amount of several thousands annually. The society at once undertook their instruction in social and religious duty. They were transferred, in all their barbarism, to various settlements within the colony; schools and churches were established amongst them with remarkable success; and no less than sixty-eight native agents, three of them ordained,

are now (1852) employed in the service of the mission in the twelve parishes into which the colony has been divided. The Christians, of all denominations, in *Sierra Leone* number 36,458, out of a population of 45,472.

Educational measures have been carefully suited to the peculiar wants of the various classes in the colony. There are *village schools* in which the pupils are trained in regular and industrial habits. By the children of the *Gloucester School*, about twenty acres of land, before covered with impervious bush, have been thoroughly cleared, and the whole planted with cotton of different kinds.

The society has also established a *Central Grammar School* at *Freetown*, which is now self-supporting, excepting the salary of the missionary at the head of it. The number of pupils in 1851 was fifty-three, of whom twenty-three are boarders. The education is of a sound Christian character, designed especially to fit the pupils for mercantile pursuits. Two of the most advanced, who had studied navigation there, have been since received on board one of H. M. steam-ships to perfect themselves in practical seamanship. The industrial system has been successfully introduced. A cotton plantation of about six acres is mainly cultivated by the pupils, who daily work three cotton machines, by which 1,400 lbs. of seeded cotton have been cleaned during the past year.

An *Institution at Fourah Bay* provides, under the principalship of a negro clergyman, assisted by another ordained African and an European missionary, a still higher style of education, intended chiefly for candidates for holy orders. The average number of students is now nineteen, and the original languages of the Bible form a part of the instruction imparted.

The Rev. O. E. Vidal, D.D. was consecrated at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Whitsunday, 1852, as first Bishop of *Sierra Leone*. Several native candidates will be ready to be presented to him for ordination upon his arrival in his new diocese; and there is every reason to expect that a foundation will be at once laid for the permanent support, by the internal resources of the people themselves, of a settled native ministry.

*Sierra Leone*, however, assumes a still higher importance when viewed as the basis of missionary operations in Western Africa. Individuals of at least one hundred different tribes have been deported thither, re-captured by British cruisers, from almost every point of the compass. These people have been Christianized and civilized, but retain as strong a love of their fatherlands as ever. The *Niger Expedition* in 1841, disastrous as it proved in most respects, afforded the exiles from the Bight of Benin more certain information as to the feasibility of their return to their old homes, and thus gave no little impulse to that remarkable reflux which is now going forward amongst the members of the *Yoruba* tribe in that locality. At least 3,000 *Yorubans* have thus revisited the chief town, *Abbeokuta*. A grammar and dictionary of their language, exhibiting much richness and flexibility, together with translations of parts of the Bible and Prayer Book, have been prepared by one of their own tribe, now a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. S. Crowther. The Christian converts there have stood firm under a severe persecution. An assault by the King of *Dahomey*, on this brightening focus of peace and good will, has been successfully repelled by the in-



# STATISTICS OF CHURCH MISSION IN WEST AFRICA, 1852. 201

habitants of Abbeokuta themselves. The destruction of Lagos by the British squadron, has overthrown the last stronghold of the Brazilian slave traders on that coast. And the prospects for the progress of Christian civilization, together with the development

of the rich material resources of the region, are full of promise and hope.

A statistical view of the present state of the Society's missions, is presented in the subjoined table :—

| Name of Mission and District. | Operations commenced | Number of Stations. | Missionaries. |         |               |        |        | Baptisms during the years 1851-52. | Communicants. | Seminaries and Schools. | Scholars. | Adult Members of the Church. |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------|---------|---------------|--------|--------|------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|
|                               |                      |                     | Clergy.       |         | Lay Teachers. |        | Total. |                                    |               |                         |           |                              |
|                               |                      |                     | Eng-lish.     | Native. | Euro-pean.    | Native |        |                                    |               |                         |           |                              |
| <i>West Africa—</i>           |                      |                     |               |         |               |        |        |                                    |               |                         |           |                              |
| Freetown .                    | 1818                 | 4                   | 7             | 3       | 3             | 23     | 36     | 253                                | 1,009         | 15                      | 2,245     | } 7,527                      |
| River District                | 1820                 | 2                   | 2             | —       | —             | 12     | 14     | 194                                | 494           | 8                       | 830       |                              |
| Mountain „                    | 1816                 | 5                   | 2             | —       | 1             | 17     | 20     | 189                                | 894           | 12                      | 1,477     |                              |
| Sea „                         | 1819                 | 3                   | 2             | —       | —             | 11     | 13     | 73                                 | 329           | 12                      | 802       |                              |
| Timneh . .                    | 1840                 | 1                   | —             | —       | —             | 2      | 2      | 4                                  | 6             | 2                       | 55        |                              |
| <i>Yoruba—</i>                |                      |                     |               |         |               |        |        |                                    |               |                         |           |                              |
| Abbeokuta .                   | 1846                 | 1                   | 3             | 1       | —             | 11     | 15     | 64                                 | 183           | 7                       | 453       | } 843                        |
| Badagry . .                   | 1845                 | 1                   | 1             | —       | 1             | 2      | 4      | —                                  | 20            | 2                       | 59        |                              |
| Total .                       | —                    | 17                  | 17            | 4       | 5             | 78     | 104    | 777                                | 2,935         | 58                      | 5,921     | 8,370                        |

*Note.*—Monies expended on Sierra Leone, and out-stations, up to March, 1852 . . . . . £221,423  
Yoruba Mission . . . . . 12,830

£234,253

The annual disbursement is more than £10,000.

These successes have been obtained in the face of difficulties and discouragements more than enough to depress, or rather utterly to cast down, the energies of men, striving for merely selfish and temporal ends. Besides the hostility of the slave dealers, to which reference has been made, the climate of West Africa was then far more fatal than it has proved, since increased cultivation has somewhat checked the exuberance of tropical vegetation, and experience has taught the best sanitary precautions. Of seventy individuals who landed in Sierra Leone, during the twenty years commencing February, 1815, thirty-four were either removed by death or compelled to return home on account of ill health, in less than a year after their arrival in the colony. "In the year 1823," according to one of the Society's documents, "out of five who went out, four died within six months; yet two years afterward six presented themselves, three being English clergymen, for that mission. They went to Africa, and two fell within four months of their landing, while a third was hurried away in extreme illness. In the next year three more went forth, two of whom died within six months, so that in the course of four years fourteen men had gone out, of whom more than half had died within a few months of landing. Yet fresh labourers willingly offered themselves on each succeeding year, to the full extent of the ability of the Society to send them out." Between March, 1804, and August, 1825, there arrived at Sierra Leone 89 church missionaries, of whom 54 died in the colony, and 14 returned to England with shattered constitutions. It has been well remarked—"God has buried the workmen, but continued the work."

In the year 1842, a Committee of the House of Commons bore the following testimony in favour of the operations of the Church and Wesleyan Missions:

"To the invaluable exertions of the Church Missionary Society, more especially—as also, to a considerable extent, as in all our African settlements, to the Wesleyan body—the highest praise is due. By

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their efforts nearly one-fifth of the population of Sierra Leone—a most unusually high proportion in any country—are at school: and the effects are visible in considerable intellectual, moral, and religious improvement—very considerable, under the peculiar circumstances of the country."

**WESLEYAN MISSION.**—The Society has stations on the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Badagry, on the Bight of Benin. The mission at Sierra Leone was commenced in 1796; on the Gambia, in 1821; and on the Gold Coast, in 1835. In Sierra Leone, at present, the colony is divided into three circuits, having thirty-one chapels, mostly built of materials taken from condemned slave ships. There are about 6,000 communicants, and the late census gives 13,000 as the portion of the population who consider themselves under the spiritual care of the agents of this Society. Twenty-one day, and twenty-two sabbath schools are in operation; while three natives are labouring as ministers, six as catechists, and ninety-four as local preachers. At the native training institution a higher order of education is given than is attempted in the ordinary schools, the pupils being intended to labour among their countrymen as catechists, teachers, or ministers, according to their qualifications. At the last examination (1852) they were examined in theology, Latin, Greek, mathematics, English grammar, and geography.

Many of the liberated Africans, especially of the *Ilousas*, have returned to their own country, bearing with them the knowledge of Christianity, and evincing pleasing effects of its moral influence.

The stations on the Gambia bring the missionaries into contact with tribes more strictly in their barbarous state than at Sierra Leone; and that river offers a better opening to the interior than any other point occupied on the western coast. The principal stations are at Bathurst, Barra, on the mainland, opposite St. Mary's; and McCarthy's Island. The deadliness of the climate has ever been the chief obstacle; each missionary who has not been pre

2 D

maturely cut off by death, being, in the course of two or three years, so reduced in strength as to be compelled to return to England, leaving his work to be followed up by a successor, having everything to learn. Of forty-one missionaries employed at Sierra Leone since 1811, there died within about a year after their arrival in the colony, fifteen; two died at sea, on their passage home, and one soon after his arrival in England. Twenty-six were obliged to return to Europe, or were removed to other missions. There are 720 scholars in the schools, and about 1,500 persons regularly attend public worship. The Gospels have been translated into the Mandingo language by the Rev. R. M. Macbrair, one of the missionaries, and already about 800 individuals are regular communicants.

The missions on the Gold Coast are extended over the whole of the country held as British territory, and also reach into the independent barbarous state of Ashantee. Of the eight missionaries employed on these stations only one is of pure European descent, all the others being more or less intimately connected with Africa by blood. Besides these, twelve native catechists, and fifty-four school teachers, are

spreading light among their countrymen. The missionary at Coomassie is the nephew of the reigning king, being one of the two princes who came to this country, as hostages, after the close of the Ashantee war. Throughout the country occupied by these missions, the native superstitions are of a singularly cruel and debasing character; human sacrifices, to a fearful extent, being habitually practised in Ashantee, but the missionaries have obtained firm footing, nevertheless. They count about 1,000 members and communicants in the native churches, and about 5,000 as regular attendants on public worship, with more than 1,000 children in schools. These results of fifteen years' labour in a climate so fatal, are highly encouraging, especially taken in connexion with the most recent advices, which go to show an extensive movement in the minds of the natives, preparatory to an abandonment of their ancient superstitions. The station at Badagry has been sustained amid serious hindrances from war and from the slave trade; and only last year the town was nearly reduced to ashes by contending parties, and the mission premises barely escaped. The annexed table shows the general statistics of these missions:—

*Statistics of the Wesleyan Missions in Western Africa, in 1852.*

| Details.   | Missions.     |        |                          |        |
|--|---------------|--------|--------------------------|--------|
|  | Sierra Leone. | Gambia | Gold Coast and Ashantee. | Total. |
| Commenced . . . . .  | 1796          | 1821   | 1835                     | —      |
| Circuits, or Principal Stations . . . .  | 3             | 3      | 6                        | 12     |
| Chapels, and other Places of Worship . .   | 33            | 8      | 23                       | 64     |
| <i>Missionaries—</i>   |               |        |                          |        |
| European . . . . .   | 4             | 3      | 1                        | 8      |
| Coloured and Native . . . . .  | 3             | 1      | 7                        | 11     |
| <i>Subordinate Paid Agents—</i>  |               |        |                          |        |
| Catechists, Interpreters, &c. . . . .  | 6             | —      | 12                       | 18     |
| Day-school teachers . . . . .  | 46            | 10     | 54                       | 110    |
| <i>Unpaid Agents—</i>  |               |        |                          |        |
| Sabbath-schools teachers . . . . .   | 146           | 52     | 5                        | 203    |
| Local preachers . . . . .  | 94            | 7      | 19                       | 120    |
| Full and Accredited Church Members . .   | 5,683         | 792    | 809                      | 7,284  |
| On trial for Membership . . . . .  | 474           | 74     | 102                      | 650    |
| Day schools . . . . .  | 21            | 3      | 23                       | 47     |
| Day-scholars, of both sexes . . . . .  | 2,487         | 526    | 1,014                    | 4,027  |
| Sabbath-schools . . . . .  | 22            | 3      | 1                        | 26     |
| Sabbath-scholars, of both sexes . . . .  | 1,077         | 551    | 23                       | 1,651  |
| <i>Total Scholars, deducting for those who attend both Sabbath and Week-day Schools—</i> |               |        |                          |        |
| Males . . . . .  | 1,749         | 452    | 727                      | 2,928  |
| Females . . . . .  | 1,430         | 268    | 287                      | 1,985  |
| Total . . . . .  | 3,179         | 720    | 1,014                    | 4,913  |
| Attendants on Public Worship . . . . .   | 9,716         | 1,550  | 4,700                    | 15,966 |

*Note.*—The expenditure on these missions, from the commencement, has been about £145,248; the present annual disbursement is £8,427.

The BAPTIST MISSION comprises one station at Fernando Po, with sixty-nine communicants, established in 1841; one at the Cameroons River, with twenty communicants, established in 1843; and one at Bimbia. It is, I believe, now a principle with the various Christian missionary societies not to interfere with each other in any chosen field of operation, but rather to seek, where means or opportunity afford, new spheres for their meritorious labours.

The BASLE MISSIONARY SOCIETY commenced in 1836 at the then Danish settlement of Accra; where there is a substantial chapel; the society has also a

flourishing mission at *Akropong*, and another at *Abodi*, in the Aquapim Mountains.

In 1847, a GERMAN MISSION was founded in the *Creepec* country, some way in the interior beyond the Basle stations, on the higher branches of the *Volta* and the *Kripong-Tojeng* rivers.

A glance at the map of Africa will show how few are the impinging points of Christian warfare on the numerous and formidable strongholds of infidelity and barbarism. Nevertheless great results have already been accomplished; on the Gold Coast especially, and for upwards of 100 miles in the interior, where, so late as the end of the last



century, nine-tenths of the slaves exported were obtained, where internal wars never ceased, and human sacrifices extensively prevailed, we now witness a glorious change; the nefarious traffic in man, for deportation to foreign lands, has not only ceased on this coast, but also on the greater part of the territory west and north-west as far as the Senegal River; and England, who had been the most cruel enemy of Africa, is now, under Providence, the instrument of blessings, which those only who have personally witnessed the evils of slavery, and the abominations of idolatry and heathenism, can fully appreciate.

**WEST AFRICAN COMMERCE.**—In aid of missionary efforts, it is very desirable that there should be a simultaneous effort to increase the vegetable products of Africa; for, as has been already stated, when the chiefs find that they can obtain a larger revenue by employing the labour of their people in the cultivation and preparation of articles required in foreign countries, than by exporting those labourers as slaves, or employing them in war, they will, instead of hindrances, become our most effective auxiliaries in the permanent suppression of the slave-trade. The king of Dahomey declared to Mr. Cruickshank, in November, 1848, that he would willingly renounce the obnoxious traffic provided he could be assured of obtaining the same income of 300,000 dollars from any other source. It is obvious that war cannot ravage, and agriculture enrich, the same country at the same moment, and that no legitimate trade requiring continuous industry, can be carried on by men engaged in constant internecine strife, for the purpose of supplying victims to that African Moloch, before which, until within the present year or two, more than 1,000 victims have been daily sacrificed! Thus, when European nations were, with one accord, engaged in the slave-carrying trade, the exports from Africa were very small, and consisted of gold-dust, elephants' teeth, and a few other articles not requiring either habitual labour or skill for their attainment. A brighter day is now dawning, and certain portions of the coast, being, by the zealous care of England, maintained as central spots for the diffusion of freedom, and of the arts and customs of civilized life, are largely instrumental in promoting and sustaining native industry, that powerful lever for the moral and social elevation of Africa. During the past year (1851) the trade carried on at three British stations only, was, in value, as follows:—

| Station.       | Imports. | Exports. | Total.   |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Sierra Leone . | £103,477 | £80,366  | £183,843 |
| Gambia . .     | 107,011  | 186,404  | 293,415  |
| Gold Coast .   | 84,880   | 219,050  | 303,930  |
| Total . .      | 295,368  | 485,820  | 781,188  |

It is estimated that in 1852 the aggregate of our commerce at these settlements will be equal in value to £1,000,000 sterling; it is still, however, almost in its infancy, and Western Africa is likely to become (if generously and judiciously encouraged) very speedily one of the largest and most profitable markets for the consumption of British manufactures, and for the supply of the raw materials, which England so largely demands. In illustration of this latter assertion it will be necessary to mention a few products of the country. *Palm Oil.*—This valuable oleaginous substance is derived from the pulp which

covers the hard shell of a fruit resembling a miniature cocoa-nut, growing in bunches near the top of a tree belonging to the palm tribe. About April the men begin to climb the trees to cut down the nuts, which the women and children expose on mats to the heat of the sun; they are afterwards pounded in wooden mortars, or in mills, to separate the pulp, which is placed in a large iron pot containing hot water, and boiled and stirred for a few minutes; the fire is then withdrawn, and by the time the water has cooled, the oil is floating on the surface, whence it is skimmed off with small calabashes, and set aside to be bartered for merchandise. Its various uses for machinery and mechanical purposes, for lamps, candles, &c., are well known; it is also largely employed on account of its peculiarly cleansing and softening qualities in making soap for factories, and the kernel, containing a delicate oil, is eagerly bought up by the French for the purposes of the toilet. This product may be obtained from every part of Western Africa; but its principal mart, at present, is in the countries contiguous to the rivers flowing into the Bights of Benin and Biafra. It is brought from a distance of 150 miles in the interior in small quantities, and sold to the traders on the coast. The following table illustrates its increased importation into the United Kingdom at six decennial periods:—

| Year. | Tons. | Year. | Tons.  |
|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| 1790  | 129   | 1830  | 10,673 |
| 1800  | 223   | 1840  | 15,722 |
| 1810  | 1,237 | 1850  | 21,722 |
| 1820  | 5,124 | 1851  | 29,223 |

In 1852, the quantity will, probably, be about 35,000 tons, which, at the present price of £30 per ton, will give a value of more than *one million* sterling. It is probable that France, the United States, Holland, and other countries, receive half the amount of England, raising the aggregate value of the trade in this article alone to one-and-a-half million sterling. The supply will, no doubt, keep pace with the remunerative demand, because the article, unlike ivory or timber, is obtained by a process in no manner destructive, or even injurious to the source from which it is derived.

This item, it will be noticed, has greatly augmented since the slave-trade has been checked; and we have already examined the change made in the condition of the countries near the Gambia (p. 176), by the addition of a new branch of trade arising from the cultivation of *Ground-Nuts*.—This singular article is formed by the seed of a Papilionaceous plant, the pod of which is produced like that of a common vetch or field-pea, in the open air, but at a certain period turns downwards, and forces its way into the loose soil, in which it delights, and there arrives at maturity. A few years ago, the pea, or nut, was known only as an article of food, used by the natives; and so late as 1835, the total quantity exported from the Gambia and Sierra Leone was only forty-seven tons. The exportation has increased annually; and the amount for 1852, exported from the Gambia alone, will exceed *twelve thousand tons*. The cultivation was originally promoted by purchases to supply mills erected in England for the obtainment of oil from seeds, and by a demand arising in the United States, where they are grown and eaten, roasted like chestnuts, under the name of pea-nuts. To this was presently added a great con-

sumption in France, where "Arachides," as they are there termed, were favoured, when heavy and discouraging duties were imposed on other oil-seeds; and France now takes a quantity so great as to employ fifteen or sixteen thousand tons of shipping in its conveyance. The oil is applicable to nearly all the same purposes as sperm; it is used also in the manufacture of soap, and in the various arts in which oleaginous substances are required. The annual value of the whole of the shipments probably exceeds £300,000. The trade is capable of great expansion, there being abundance of land adapted for its growth, while the light and easy labour required for its culture is peculiarly adapted to a people just emerging from barbarism, and who, consequently, like children, must be gradually and gently initiated in the habits of patient toil, necessary to their welfare and progress.

The *Gum* now exported is obtained principally from the extensive forests bordering the vast solitude, or sea of sand (Sahara), which extends east and west between Galam and the Atlantic, and north and south between the Senegal and Morocco. It is obtained chiefly by the Moors from a pastoral tribe termed the "Trazars," whose favourite locality is the gum forest of Sahel, situated about 100 miles from the small haven of Portendic or the Giaour's Port, in 18° N. about midway between Cape Blanco and the mouth of the Senegal. This haven has often been the scene of hostilities between the English, French, Portuguese, and Dutch; and although now open to us by treaty, yet the French, by seizing our vessels in 1834-5, and by other measures, such as forbidding the entrance of English ships into the Senegal, and prohibiting the export of gum from the river except to France, or to a French colony; have established an almost entire monopoly in the trade, which is of considerable value. The gum being very mucilaginous, was largely used in England for calico printing, and in the fabrication of silks, gauzes, ribbons, lawns, cambries, and hats; also in varnishing and gilding, the composition of painters' colours, and in various other ways. The French proceedings have however so enhanced the price as to cause the substitution of torrified starch, termed British gum, to a considerable extent, in place of the African product.

*Gold* is found in various parts of Western Africa, but is obtained in the greatest purity in the *Bouréh* country, at the confluence of the *Tankisso* with the *Jolibah* rivers, about 220 miles north-east from Teemboh in Foutah Jallon. The Mandingoes who visit this territory to trade with the Soosoo, declare that the whole soil is auriferous, and that the precious metal exists to a depth of twenty to thirty feet below the surface. The entire population is employed in digging or washing the earth, which is so richly impregnated that a stranger is not allowed to sweep the floor of the hut assigned to him for a lodging, the sweepings belonging to the landlord.\* The gold-dust is exchanged for bullocks, sheep, rice, and other commodities brought to Bouréh from the agricultural district of Wassalon, by the caravans of the wealthy Serakolet traders. The Mandingoes from Sierra Leone are obliged to travel together in numbers and well-armed, from the insecurity of the long route they have to traverse between Free Town and Bouréh.

\* *Notes on the Commerce of Sierra Leone*, a brochure, by B. Campbell, Esq.; printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Free Town, in 1850.

The gold is generally bartered to French or American traders.

*Timber*.—Several valuable woods abound; hitherto mahogany has been obtained from the Gambia, and teak from Sierra Leone, whence they are imported for our ship-builders. In 1851 the quantity of teak entered in the custom-houses of the United Kingdom was 9,295 loads, which at £9 to £10 per load, gives a value of nearly £90,000.

*Bees-wax* is produced in large quantities, and its abundance affords some indication of the floral beauty of the interior country. The amount exported has decreased in consequence of the various substitutes now used in place of wax for candles. The import from Western Africa (principally from the Gambia), in 1850, was, however, upwards of 5,000 cwt., the estimated value being from forty to fifty thousand pounds sterling.

*Hides and Skins* are principally taken by the Americans; they are of excellent quality and well cured; I cannot ascertain the aggregate quantity.

Among other articles exported may be named coffee, ginger, red pepper, guinea grains, or "grains of Paradise" (used, it is said, for imparting an acrid hot taste to gin), arrowroot, gum copal, and bené or sesame-seed (which yields a fine salad oil). Tobacco, indigo, and dye woods, are at present comparatively small items, but are capable of almost indefinite extension.

*Cotton*.—Africa is peculiarly suited for the growth of this important article. I observed different varieties of it growing wild in various places; in one spot, a beautiful *gossypium* creeper adorned the river banks, and shed its downy wool on the adjoining bushes. Indigenous cotton is now imported from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast, and its culture has been commenced. The alluvial soil of the Gambia appears well adapted for the description termed "sea-island." The quantity exported from Western Africa to England, during 1851, was about 5,000 lbs.; this year there will be a large increase. The staple is liked at Manchester, and the price given is remunerative to the grower. Gins, for separating the seed from the wool, have been sent out by the Church Missionary Society; and the celebrated engineer, Mr. Nasmyth, has invented a cheap and easily-constructed machine for compressing the cotton into a space which will cause a reduction in the cost of freight from 4d. to 1d. per pound. The importance of this subject to England can scarcely be overrated.

It appears that the crop of the United States, in the years 1851-2, amounted to 3,015,029 bales, of which 603,029 were consumed in America, and 2,443,646 bales exported to foreign countries; viz., to England, 1,668,749; to France, 421,375; to northern Europe, 168,875; to other parts, 184,647 bales; leaving only 91,176 bales as stock in hand.

It is indispensable to the security and stability of our manufacturing industry at Manchester, Glasgow, Belfast, and other places, that there should be a large and certain supply of cotton at a low price. To accomplish this, our dependence should not be on one country, one soil, one season—as is now the case: we ought, also, to be guaranteed from the interruption which popular caprice, slave insurrections, internecine hostility, or national wars would quickly cause. Even without such incentives the many who abhor the use of slave-grown produce will rejoice to encourage the cultivation of African cotton by native landed proprietors, set on foot by the exertions of the Church and Wesleyan societies.



SUMMARY.—The foregoing pages contain a brief enumeration of facts bearing on the present condition of Western Africa, which, taken as a whole, afford an encouraging prospect that Christianity, freedom, and civilization, have at length taken firm root, and are even now leavening the character of the people, and developing the natural resources of their country. Soon, perhaps, the Niger and other great rivers will be explored, and rich cultivation adorn their banks, without the aid of model farms and naval expeditions, such as that planned in 1839-'40, by the benevolent Fowell Buxton, and generously supported by H. R. H. Prince Albert. I am far, however, from attempting to depreciate such projects;—the Niger Expedition was laudable in itself, and undertaken from the purest and most disinterested motives, and probably would have succeeded but for the fatal imprudence committed in the protracted tarry of the vessels in the delta of the Niger, within the sphere of the most deadly climatorial influences.

In the last ten years great changes have taken place; Britain and Africa have been brought into closer intercourse by more extensive exchange of their respective products. The monthly steam-packets\* plying between the two countries will probably soon tempt Englishmen to gratify their inherent love of travel, by visiting, during the healthy season, the western shore of a vast region which has been an object of wonder and inquiry for centuries; and they can hardly fail to take an interest in promoting that social improvement which Africa, it would appear, cannot generate among her own sons, but must, like other countries, receive the impulse, direction, and animating spring from nations hitherto more favoured.

It is not meant by this remark to disparage the mental powers of the Africans, or to express any sympathy with the popular view which recognises in negroes no distinctions, but stigmatises all as an inferior race, fit only for servitude. There are more remarkable diversities among the inhabitants of Western Africa than among those of Europe; and their comparatively low scale of civilization, or in other words, their distance from the advanced stage of improvement which centuries of Christianity, and the knowledge of letters and arts have advanced other nations, is no proof of their original or

permanent inferiority. They have been subjected to the greatest disadvantages; hemmed in by the advancing Moslems on the one side, and on the other by a more terrific foe—the European slave-dealers—it is surprising that West Africa has not, like America and other countries, been entirely deprived of its original population. There must have been some innate principle of strength to enable them to withstand, for so long a period, the assaults of such formidable adversaries. But more than this, despite the most degrading antecedents, and under circumstances to the last degree discouraging, men of the pure negrototype have distinguished themselves as divines, statesmen, philosophers, mathematicians, and soldiers;—they have proved intelligent, affectionate, faithful, generous; and in patience under privation, endurance of physical suffering, and constancy of purpose, they are unsurpassed by any other portion of mankind.

England, therefore, in the prosecution of her glorious mission—the diffusion of Christianity over the globe—has a vast and promising field of enterprise in Africa: true it is that much precious missionary blood has already been shed there; and it may be in the Divine purpose that more must be sacrificed; but if we can spare soldiers in thousands to fight our national quarrels in the deadliest climate, we can surely find also some hundreds of the Church Militant, who, in the name of their God, are ready to hazard life in a nobler struggle, to save souls. And this contest will proceed and stay not until it eventually triumph. Victory may be slow, yet it will be sure; the strongholds of paganism, the domain of Satan, the natural depravity of man, can no more withstand the assailing power of Christian truth, than darkness can shut out the overpowering effects of light. Africa is now witnessing the rising of that Sun whose bright beams will penetrate the most hidden recesses; and Britain, on every ground—religious, commercial, and social—will reap a rich reward for the efforts now making to christianize a people, whom at one period she helped to degrade, debase, and enslave, but whom she now anxiously desires to elevate, enlighten, and enfranchise, through the perfect knowledge of that Gospel which declareth in more senses than one, that “where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

\* Steam-vessels, with the post-office mails, leave England monthly, calling at Gorce, Bathurst, Sierra

Leone, Liberia, Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Lagos, Whydah, Badagry, Bonny, Old Calabar, &c.

## BOOK IV.—ISLANDS OF ST. HELENA AND ASCENSION.

### CHAPTER I.

#### LOCALITY, AREA, POPULATION, REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND GENERAL CONDITION.

**POSITION AND AREA.**—St. Helena (celebrated as the prison and the grave of Napoleon Buonaparte), is situate in the Southern Atlantic, in  $15^{\circ} 55'$  S. lat., and  $5^{\circ} 41'$  W. long., 1,200 miles from the coast of Africa, 2,000 from that of America, and 800 from the island of Ascension. Its extreme length is ten miles and a-half; breadth, six and three-quarters; circumference, twenty-eight miles; and area, about 30,000 aeres.

**DISCOVERY AND HISTORY.**—The island was first seen by Juan De Nova Castella, a Portuguese navigator, on the 21st of May, 1502, and named by him in honour of the day of its discovery, *Saint Helena*.

The island was then uninhabited, covered with forest, and its shores abounded with turtles, seals, sea-lions, and various sorts of wild fowl. Its settlement, in 1513, is attributed to the debarkation of a Portuguese nobleman, who had been condemned by Albuquerque for crime committed in India, and sent away in disgrace. This gentleman, Fernandez Lopez by name, prevailed on the captain to set him on shore on this uninhabited isle, that he might avoid the life of ignominy he was destined to lead in Portugal, and his wishes being complied with, and abundant supplies forwarded to him by his commiserating friends, he quickly brought some spots under cultivation, and imported hogs, goats, domestic poultry, partridges, and wild fowl, besides various sorts of fruits and vegetables, all of which increased and thrived exceedingly. Fernandez was removed by orders of the Portuguese government in about four years, and the Portuguese mariners preserved the secret of the existence of St. Helena from other nations until 1588, when it was discovered by Captain Cavendish, on his return from circumnavigating the globe. He states that the Portuguese had built a town and a church; possessed abundance of goats, pigs, and poultry, with game, wild fowl, and various

kinds of fruits and vegetables. The settlement was afterwards frequently visited by English, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese ships; the salubrity of the air, and the abundance of fresh provisions invigorating their exhausted crews.

It sometimes happened that ships of nations at war with each other visited St. Helena at the same time—accordingly we have accounts of various sea-fights between the Dutch and Spaniards at the anchorage, who are, moreover, accused of wantonly destroying the plantations, lest succeeding visitors should profit by the supplies which had proved so beneficial to them. The island was abandoned by the Portuguese, when they acquired possession of settlements on the eastern shores of Africa, and for some years continued desolate, owing to the wanton excesses which had been committed; however, about the year 1613, two Portuguese vessels being wrecked here, their crews got safe to land, and once more stocked the place with cattle, goats, hogs, poultry, &c. In 1645 the Dutch took formal possession of St. Helena, and established a colony, which they gave up when settling the Cape of Good Hope in 1651.

The homeward-bound English East India fleet touching here at this period, took possession, and the East India Company obtained a charter for its occupation from Charles II. ten years after. Under the superintendence of Captain Dutton, the first English governor, a fort was erected and called Fort James, in compliment to the Duke of York, the king's brother. Settlers were encouraged to emigrate thither, and slaves were imported from Madagascar to work in the plantations. Its population was shortly after increased by many, who had been reduced to penury by the great fire of London, seeking refuge in the island.

In the latter part of 1672, the Dutch, through the treachery of a planter, succeeded in landing in the night 500 men



from an expedition which had been repulsed the same day; the fort being thus attacked in the rear, the governor thought it but prudent to abandon it, and retired, with his garrison and principal effects, on board some ship in the roads, taking, however, the precaution of placing a sloop to cruise to windward of St. Helena to warn British vessels of its capture, and a squadron arriving soon after (in May 1673), under Captain Munden, he succeeded in regaining the island, and, by keeping the Dutch flag flying after he got possession of the forts, decoyed six Dutch East Indiamen, as well as a ship from Europe, having a governor and reinforcements for the garrison on board, into the roads where they were seized. Having formed a British garrison by detachments from the ships, Captain Munden sailed for England with his prizes, and was knighted.

St. Helena remained in the possession of the East India Company until the last renewal of their charter in 1833, when the island was given up to the crown, it having been retained by them so long merely as a maritime station for refitting their ships, &c., which they no longer required, after the suspension of their commercial privileges.

**PHYSICAL ASPECT.**—When first seen at sea, St. Helena presents the appearance of a small barren rock, nearly perpendicular on its northern side, but gradually shelving to the south. On approaching, its eminences appear more broken, and the central ones are covered with verdure. The shore is protected by a girdle of inaccessible precipices of basaltic rock, some of them rent to the base, exhibiting extensive chasms, and the most fantastic shapes. The only anchorage is at James' Valley Bay, on the north-west or leeward side of the island. James' Town, the capital, is situated in a narrow valley between two lofty mountains, and presents a pleasant and refreshing appearance, from the trees being generally in full leaf.

There is good anchorage in from eight to twenty-five fathoms; the tide rising to the height of five feet at times; the surf upon the shore is generally strong, but about Christmas tremendous. The principal inlets by which the island can be approached are Lemon Valley, James' Town, and Rupert's Bay on the north-west side, and Sandy Bay on the south-east; all these, however, are strongly fortified. Even the

small ravines, where it might be possible to effect a landing, are also defended.

Throughout the whole length of the island there are only two plains, the largest that of Longwood, comprising 1,500 acres of fertile land, sloping to the south-west. The island is divided by a ridge of hills, running nearly east and west, but bending in a curved direction to the south, at each extremity, and from this chain numerous valleys and ridges branch off, generally at right angles. The *Plantation*, or Government-house, is like a beautiful English country residence; it is embowered in woods, with a green valley sloping towards the sea, above which it is elevated about 2,000 feet. The highest point in the island is Diana's Peak, which rises 2,700 feet above the level of the sea; from its summit the whole island lies under the view, no point intercepting the horizon. The other remarkable eminences, the altitude of which have been ascertained by Major Rennell, are Flag Staff, 2,272, and Barnscliff, 2,215, nearer the coast, and overhanging the sea; Alarm House, 1,260, in the centre of the island; High Knoll, 1,903, to the southward of Ladder Hill, and the official country residence of the Governor; Longwood House, 1,762; most of the heights were formerly covered with timber and shrubs, consisting of the cabbage tree, redwood, stringwood, dogwood, &c., and the greenwood was likewise to be found in great abundance, but, at present, few of these trees are to be seen, except about 1,500 acres of irregular forest at Longwood, preserved by order of the East India Company.

Clear and wholesome springs abound in every direction; those issuing from the sides of the hills frequently form picturesque cascades. Roads have been constructed in a zigzag direction, with great labour, which now afford easy access to the interior.

After the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon Buonaparte was sent to St. Helena by the allied sovereigns as a prisoner of war. He arrived in the island in October, 1815, and died there on the 6th May, 1821. His remains were removed a few years since to Paris.

**GEOLOGY.**—St. Helena is probably of volcanic origin; or it is the lofty peak of some vast range of mountains, whose base is beneath the ocean. Limestone is plentiful in some situations, as well as iron ore, and there are indications of gold and copper.

## 208 CLIMATE, POPULATION, REVENUE, OF ST. HELENA.—ASCENSION.

THE CLIMATE of this island is not ill adapted to the European constitution; indeed it has been found congenial to the crews of vessels that have been kept for a long space of time on salt provisions, and without vegetables. The thermometer seldom rises above 80° in James Town, and the heat is only excessive when it is reflected from the sides of the valley in calm weather; in the interior of the island the temperature is more even, never so cold as in England, and scarcely so hot. The average temperature throughout the whole year has been found to be at Longwood from 56° to 68°, at James Town from 66° to 78°, and at Plantation House from 61° to 73° Fahrenheit. The atmosphere is remarkably clear. Thunder and lightning are rare.

The healthy condition of the inhabitants was visible to me in their cheerful manners, and active rural industry, the cultivation of the soil being their principal occupation.

In 1848, out of nearly 7,000 inhabitants, there were only seventy-nine deaths, and thirty-four were upwards of seventy years of age. There are about three births to each death among the resident inhabitants.

### *Inhabitants according to Census of 1850.*

| Locality.         | Houses. | Males. | Females. |
|-------------------|---------|--------|----------|
| James' Town . . . | 190     | 1,860  | 1,562    |
| Country . . . . . | 195     | 1,113  | 955      |
| Total . . . . .   | 385     | 2,973  | 2,517    |

*Note.*—H.M. troops, 450; women and children, 153; East India Company's invalids, 32; grand total, 6,125.

The population includes British Africans, Chinese, Malays, and seamen, landed from ships, and their descendants. Many slaves are now liberated here: between June 1840, and June 1850, 15,076 were landed; of these 4,760 died, and all the remainder, except forty, migrated to Jamaica and other British West India colonies.

**GOVERNMENT.**—A military officer, aided by executive and legislative councils.

**REVENUE.**—About £17,000 per annum; of which £10,000 is derived from custom duties.

The military charges are now £17,000 per annum.

**SHIPPING.**—The annexed table gives the imports, exports, and specie exported, during three years:—

| Particulars.      | 1849.   | 1850.   | 1851.   |
|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Imports . . . . . | £68,533 | £66,219 | £81,624 |
| Exports . . . . . | 3,856   | 12,572  | 5,846   |
| Specie exported   | 8,845   | 8,526   | 11,446  |

Ships entered inwards in 1851 (exclusive of vessels of war and whaling ships), 950; tons, 439,494; viz., British ships, 583; tons, 289,313; French ships, 71; tons, 22,663; Dutch ships, 110; tons 63,330; American ships, 58; tons, 28,825. The remaining tonnage comprises eleven other foreign flags. A duty of one penny per ton is levied for the support of an excellent hospital for seamen.

**RELIGION AND EDUCATION.**—St. Helena forms a part of the diocese of the Cape of Good Hope, and has four Church of England clergymen. There are eleven schools, of which three belong to government, four to the Baptist Mission, and four to the Benevolent Society.

**CULTIVATION.**—About 160 acres are under crop;

7,500 acres of pasturage are adapted for tillage, and 25,000 acres are available for the grazing of sheep and goats. Considerable quantities of live stock, obtained from Africa, are kept in readiness for the supply of vessels touching for refreshments.

Most kinds of tropical or European fruits ripen here, particularly in the sheltered valleys. Vines, oranges, citrons, lemons, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, tamarinds, mangoes, cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, pine apples, &c. thrive well; apples have succeeded tolerably, but the climate is not congenial to cherries, currants, or gooseberries. The common blackberry increased to such an extent after its introduction in 1780, as to necessitate an order for its extirpation. Three successive crops of potatoes are often produced in the year, and garden vegetables, such as cabbages, beans, peas, &c. are raised in abundance.

Fish are numerous, and more than seventy different kinds have been caught on the coast. Amongst the most prized is the coal fish, which is very delicate but scarce: those commonly taken are jacks, congers, soldiers, mackerel, albicore, bulls' eyes, &c.

St. Helena is during peace a valuable haven, where the people of every nation, on their long voyage across the Atlantic, may recruit: during war it is an important garrison for the protection of British commerce, and one of the means by which England maintains her supremacy on the ocean. The island is so well fortified that, properly defended, it may be considered impregnable.

### ASCENSION.

ASCENSION, in lat. 7° 55' S., long. 14° 25' W., is a triangular-shaped island of volcanic origin, eight miles long, by six broad at the west end, the surface consisting of barren rocks, almost destitute of verdure. It is well fortified at every accessible part (the sea breaks on the coast with tremendous violence) and garrisoned by a detachment of marines and marine artillery. The highest summit is estimated at 2,870 feet in elevation above the sea. A shaft has been sunk in one of the mountains, whence abundance of excellent water is conveyed to the anchorage by means of iron pipes. The beach, at first thought to be composed of sand, was found to consist of very small fragments of shells; in some places exhibiting compact masses, formed of several layers, the size of the fragments differing in each layer; they are broken and burned for lime. Red volcanic ashes prevail on several hills. Of the vegetable kingdom, the euphorbia is found growing in small tufts among the rugged lava; and attempts have been made to introduce various European vegetables. Sea fowl are very numerous, and there are three handsome species of butterflies on the island, beautiful objects among such barren scenes.

Ponds are kept stocked with turtle, weighing from 200 to 800 lbs. each. Abundance of fish and marine birds are obtainable. The eggs of the sea-swallows, which are of a dirty white with dark red spots, and about the size of a crow's egg, are collected at certain seasons of the year in thousands, and considered delicate eating.

Moorings are laid down in the roads, and vessels in want of refreshments supplied at moderate prices.

A coal depôt has been established in consequence of the increasing number of steam vessels traversing the Atlantic, in their passage to and from the Cape, India, and Australia.

N.B. The islands of Mauritius and Seychelles will be given with Ceylon and other possessions in the Eastern Seas.





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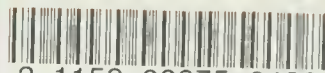
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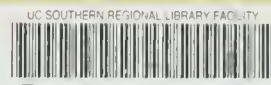
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